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## PETER GUILDAY
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By

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Long before this issue of the REVIEW reaches our readers they will have learned from the press the irreparable loss suffered by American Catholic historical scholarship in the death of the Right Reverend Peter Guilday in a Washington hospital on Thursday, July 31, 1947.

Peter Guilday was born of Irish parents at Chester, Pennsylvania, on March 25, 1884. He began his intellectual training in a parochial school in Chester and for his secondary education he was sent in 1897 to Roman Catholic High School in Philadelphia where, among his teachers, he had Charles Hallan McCarthy with whom he was later to be associated as a colleague in the Department of History of the Catholic University of America. The present writer well remembers an incident which occurred when he was enrolled as a graduate student in Professor McCarthy's American history course at the University in 1928. The old gentleman was making one of his periodic rounds of the class to inquire into their collateral reading. One student responded to the question about what he was then reading by saying he was going through Guilday's two-volume life of Archbishop Carroll. The old professor nodded and replied: "Oh, yes, I taught Dr. Guilday most of the English grammar he knows at Roman

* Father Ellis succeeded Monsignor Guilday in 1941 in the management of the American Catholic Historical Association and the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and in the teaching of the courses in American church history in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America.

Catholic High School in Philadelphia some thirty years ago." The elderly historian took pride in telling his classes of the role he had played in helping to train his brilliant young colleague.

In the autumn of 1902 Peter Guilday, then eighteen years of age, embarked upon his studies for the priesthood at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook, the seminary of his own Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Its rector at the time was Patrick J. Garvey who presided over a student body of about 125 seminarians. When young Guilday entered Overbrook one of his fellow students was William J. Lallou, at present associate professor of liturgy in the University. Father Lallou says he remembers the new student very well in his first days in the seminary and that the most vivid impression he retains of Peter Guilday at that time was his brightness and cheerfulness. They were qualities which he did not lose throughout his sixty-three years of life, for except in the days of physical distress caused by the illness which overtook him in his last years, everyone who knew Peter Guilday will agree that he was, indeed, bright and cheerful. For five years the young seminarian pursued the customary courses in philosophy and theology with a good portion of his leisure time given to acquiring a knowledge of languages. He had a gift for languages and it was at Overbrook that he laid the ground work for his later proficiency in the reading of German, French, Spanish, and Italian, which stood him in such good stead in his research work in church history. All his students will remember the facility with which he could turn a phrase in Latin or one of the modern tongues. The talent which he enjoyed in languages was developed and perfected by his years of study in Europe and he used it in his university work to striking advantage.

In 1907, when he had completed two years of theology, Guilday won one of the scholarships maintained at the American College in Louvain by the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, and in that year Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan sent him off to complete his theological course at the great Belgian university center. Finishing his undergraduate studies for the priesthood, he was ordained on July 11, 1909, at Louvain by Henry Gabriels, Bishop of Ogdensburg, New York, himself a Belgian, who happened to be visiting his native country. Soon after ordination Peter Guilday, acting on the advice of his

academic counsellors at Louvain, matriculated at the University of Bonn, but his stay at the German university was a brief one as he determined that he could better secure what he wanted by way of training in church history at Louvain. Father Guilday returned, therefore, to the University of Louvain and entered upon his graduate work in church history under the immediate direction of Professor Alfred Cauchie, to whom he was always devoted and to whose memory he dedicated his volume, *An Introduction to Church History* (St. Louis, 1925). Canon Cauchie had been killed in an automobile accident in Rome three years before on February 10, 1922. While his principal director at Louvain was Cauchie, the young American priest also followed the courses offered in history by Van der Essen, Moeller, and Brants, and in the auxiliary sciences of history—always a favorite subject with him—he studied under Maere and Lemaire. His graduate program during the years 1910-1912 was rounded out by the classes he attended in philosophy taught by Professors De Wulf, Nys, and Deploige.

Following the completion of his course work for the doctorate, Father Guilday spent a year of research in the archives of France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. This was followed by a year's residence in London, where he attended lectures in history at the University of London, continued the writing of his doctoral dissertation, and found time for some parish work at St Mary's Church, Bayswater. By the summer of 1914 the goals towards which the young American had been striving in Europe for seven years were at length reached. He was a priest and in June, 1914, he published the fruits of his years of research on his doctoral dissertation, when Longmans, Green and Company brought out the impressive volume, *The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795* (London, 1914). With the publication of the dissertation the University of Louvain awarded to Peter Guilday the *Doctorat en sciences morales et historiques*. The research on this volume had convinced the young priest of the need for a similar volume on the history of the Irish continental college and convents. Pursuing this objective, he was engaged in the preliminary stages of the investigation in Ireland when World War I broke out in August, 1914. The coming of the war interrupted Dr. Guilday's work on the history of the Catho-

lic institutions of the British Isles on the continent and in October, 1914, he returned to the United States after his prolonged absence abroad. His return was saddened a brief time after his arrival at home by the death of his father, Wilfred Guilday.

There was no keener or more alert student of the history of the Catholic Church at that time in the United States than Thomas J. Shahan, fourth Rector of the Catholic University of America. Bishop Shahan had knowledge of the promising young priest-scholar of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia from Father Bernard A. McKenna, and he appealed to Archbishop Edmond F. Prendergast to release Peter Guilday from diocesan responsibilities that he might join the faculty of the University in Washington. The permission was granted and the late fall of 1914 found Dr. Guilday at the age of thirty an instructor in church history in the University with which he was destined to be identified for the remainder of his life. At first he lectured on the history of the Church in modern times, and during his first two years at Washington he wrote a life of Martin Luther, which, however, remained in manuscript and was never published. With the constant friendly guidance of Bishop Shahan the new church historian at Washington was led to see the crying need for instruction and research in the field of American Catholic history. He decided, therefore, to devote himself in the main to this uncultivated field as his principal preoccupation, although he gave lectures for some years, too, in mediaeval church history.

With the imagination which always characterized his work young Dr. Guilday felt that there was the most pressing need for arousing interest in American church history. He soon became aware of the fact that with the exception of a few restricted aspects of American Catholic history no one had succeeded in keeping alive the tradition of John Gilmary Shea. Shea was dead twenty-two years when Guilday joined the University faculty, and there was a real danger that the splendid accomplishment of this pioneer would be lost to sight and remain undeveloped if someone did not take up the task of teaching and writing on the history of the Catholic Church of the United States. With that in mind—and supported and sustained every inch of the way by Bishop Shahan—Peter Guilday founded in the spring of 1915 the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL

REVIEW, a quarterly journal devoted exclusively in its first six years to the American Catholic Church. The first issue of the REVIEW appeared in April, 1915. Of the original board of editors, to which Bishop Shahan lent the prestige of his name as editor-in-chief, only two are still living, namely, the Most Reverend Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., at present apostolic nuncio to Eire and the Very Reverend Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., provincial of the Washington province of the Society of Mary. Patrick J. Healy and William Turner, the other two original associate editors, preceded Monsignor Guilday in death. Through the REVIEW a new interest was awakened in the history of the Church of the United States and many a student was stimulated to write by knowing that the pages of the REVIEW were opened to the results of his research. Through all the years after 1915 Peter Guilday continued to be the principal force and guiding spirit behind the REVIEW, although he always had associated with him several colleagues from the University faculty. It was only in February, 1941, that he requested that he be relieved of the responsibility for the management of the journal due to his failing health. From that time to his death he continued, however, as editor-in-chief, and while he did not share actively in the editorial labors of the REVIEW during the past six years, he did remain a keen and constructive critic of the journal's management and the present editors owed much to his counsel and advice.

When the United States entered World War I the need for some kind of organized Catholic war effort was felt and there came into being the National Catholic War Council. The council created a committee on historical records in 1917 and Dr. Guilday was made its secretary. Thus through the medium of this committee the records of Catholic war activities were assembled and preserved. In his capacity as secretary of this committee Peter Guilday acted likewise as a liaison agent between the National Catholic War Council and the National Board for Historical Research, drawing up a report of Catholic historical activities which was published in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1919. Moreover, in October, 1918, Dr. Guilday was appointed assistant district educational director in the Students Army Training Corps, and for the

balance of the year he had his offices at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

The historical activities of Peter Guilday during World War I suggested to him that the time might then be ripe for the formal launching of a national Catholic historical society with a view to affording Catholic historians throughout the country a central organization through which they might meet annually for the reading of scholarly papers and the informal exchange of professional news and experiences. In the autumn of 1919 he sent out a call for a meeting to convene in Cleveland in Christmas week, and to this invitation about fifty Catholic historians responded. Gathering there on December 30, 1919, with Peter Guilday as their chief inspiration, they founded the American Catholic Historical Association. This national society owed its birth directly to Guilday's effort. Moreover, its humble beginnings of fifty some persons in 1919, which have grown into the 800 members of the present Association, are, in large measure, due to his untiring zeal and effort to provide the membership with interesting annual programs and, too, to the growing conviction of the solid character of the work which he was doing. The cordial relations which Dr. Guilday enjoyed with secular historians was in good measure responsible for inaugurating the pleasant and profitable joint annual sessions of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association. Whenever Peter Guilday conducted an annual meeting his superb sense of publicity made everyone in the region know that the A.C.H.A. was there. The present writer remembers his meeting the late James Westfall Thompson of the University of California at a tea in San Rafael in the summer of 1934 during which Thompson spoke warmly of the verve with which the American Catholic Historical Association meetings went off under the Guilday touch and, mentioning especially the 1931 meeting of the two associations in Minneapolis, he laughingly said: "Peter stole the show!" From the first meeting in Cleveland in 1919 to the 1941 meeting in Chicago Peter Guilday was the very life breath of these annual gatherings. His absence in Chicago in 1941 was keenly missed and it was even more regretted when the association returned to the same city to celebrate its silver jubilee in 1944. Just a week before the silver jubilee meeting convened Monsignor Guilday

was taken critically ill and he was advised by his doctor that the trip to Chicago was out of the question for him.

While he was bearing the principal burden of the editorial work of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and guiding the infant Association through its first difficult years of life, Dr. Guilday was meanwhile continuing his teaching in the University and publishing volume after volume in American church history. For these substantial contributions to scholarship he won rapid academic promotion, being advanced to the associate professorship in 1919 after five years as an instructor. The publication of his two-volume work, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922) won for him the full professorship in 1923. The Carroll biography preceded by five years the definitive work on the first Bishop of Charleston, his two-volume *Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927) which, in the judgment of some critics, was the best of Peter Guilday's published works. The projected biography of the third great bishop of the nineteenth century, Archbishop John Hughes of New York, had to be abandoned in 1945 because of failing health. This is not the place to list his numerous publications. All students of American Catholic history are acquainted with his written works; no student of this field of history can make progress without them. Suffice it to say that Peter Guilday's published writings when listed in the *Catholic Library World* for May, 1941, at the end of an article on him as a church historian by James J. Kortendick, S.S., filled over two closely printed pages. As the years passed these highly serviceable books and articles poured from his pen until he had, in very deed, placed everyone in the Catholic Church in America from the child in the parochial school to the university professor in his debt. Moreover, it has been through the works of Peter Guilday that the secular historian of the United States has come to know the Catholic story of the nation more than through any other single person. The name Guilday has found its way into more bibliographies of American history than any other single Catholic name with the possible exception of John Gilmary Shea.

An accomplishment such as that of Dr. Guilday could not fairly go without recognition. The period of the 1920's and 1930's when he was at the peak of his intellectual vigor saw honors showered upon him from many appreciative hands. In 1924 he was elected a fellow

of the Royal Historical Society, and in 1925 the University of Notre Dame conferred on him the first of a series of eight honorary degrees which came to him from various Catholic colleges and universities, the last being that of Fordham University conferred in 1940 at the time of its centennial. In 1926 he was decorated by the King of the Belgians for his work in the restoration of the library of the University of Louvain and in February, 1935, he was made a domestic prelate by Pope Pius XI with the insignia of which he was invested by Bishop James H. Ryan, fifth Rector of the University, in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception on March 7, 1935.

Through his entire career Monsignor Guilday was a man who had a high appreciation of his professional responsibilities. Even after his eyesight became impaired and reading was difficult he continued to maintain his membership in learned societies and to scan as best he could their periodicals and journals. He kept up his membership in a dozen or more such professional groups and he was assiduous in seeing to it that their publications would reach the office of the REVIEW promptly after he had finished with them. Only his biographer can tell the full story of the importance of his close and cordial contacts with historians both in the United States and abroad—a service which all will admit was of inestimable assistance to Catholic historical circles. That correspondence which runs back to Peter Guilday's first days in Washington in 1914, was, for the most part, kept by him, and several dozen file cases of incoming letters and copies of outgoing correspondence attest the widespread character of his professional connections both here and in Europe.

Besides filling the role of the mature scholar as editor, writer, and teacher Monsignor Guilday gave generously of his talents to the training of the future historians of the American Church. In the quarter century since the first doctoral dissertations done under his direction appeared in 1922 there were in all by 1943 in his series of Studies in American Church History thirty-three volumes. Moreover, two published dissertations for the S.T.D. degree were issued under his direction and editorship after he was transferred in 1941 to the University's School of Sacred Theology. Students of Monsignor Guilday are today teaching, editing, and writing in all sections of the United States and the more than thirty published monographs

which appeared as doctoral dissertations give no idea of the dozens of worthwhile unpublished theses for the master's degree completed under his direction.

Not only did Peter Guilday spend himself by way of direction of his graduate students but he was, as well, on constant call in his more vigorous years as a public speaker. His splendid talents for oratory showed to excellent advantage on such important occasions as, for example, the bicentennial celebration of the birth of George Washington, when he was the preacher at the pontifical field Mass on May 30, 1932, in the University stadium, and two years later when on May 30, 1934, there was celebrated in the Baltimore Stadium the pontifical field Mass commemorating the tercentenary of the founding of Maryland. The present writer remembers how proud he was of his former professor on the night of June 13, 1934, when he was present at the sixty-fifth annual commencement of Loyola University in Chicago and heard Dr. Guilday deliver the principal address. There was a force and a vigor about Peter Guilday in the pulpit and on the public platform that riveted the attention of his audiences upon him, and he had a gift of speaking with such utter fluency and ease and with such grace of diction that it reminded one of the great preachers in the history of the Church.

It is easy enough to set down the bare record of Peter Guilday's deeds for Catholic historical scholarship. It is not so simple to do justice to their full import and significance for the Catholic Church of the United States. To state that in his editing of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, his founding of the American Catholic Historical Association, his direction of the American Church History Seminar in the University, his own writing and editing he will always be regarded as the second founder of a distinct field of history, is but to utter a truism. To say that is to speak a simple truth, but to say no more would be to overlook the spirit of the man. No student of Peter Guilday who had within him even so faint a spark of love for history could fail to respond to the infectious enthusiasm of the dynamic professor who sat behind the desk. To paraphrase the scriptural saying, Peter Guilday did, indeed, come "to cast fire on the earth" through his love and burning zeal for the history of the American Church, and he had the satisfaction of seeing that it was

kindled. To enthusiasm and a lively presentation in the classroom he added a constant alertness to new publications in all fields of history, and if a student left the Guilday seminar with a lack of awareness of the new literature the fault was certainly not the professor's. True, he did not believe in giving content in his classes and for this reason some went away disappointed, but he pursued this method as a conviction that the giving of content matter was the duty of the undergraduate instructor. Having imbibed the system of the European continental universities, Peter Guilday threw the student on his own for getting the factual content of the courses he was giving. But in the more exacting task of research he was ever at the student's command for direction and guidance.

Peter Guilday the priest was never lost sight of as he rose to eminence as the professional historian. Many an unknown person wended his or her way to the parlors of Caldwell Hall in the days when his remains were lying in state between his death and funeral, and among them the present writer learned quite by chance from several that it was the beautiful memory of Monsignor Guilday's sermons in the pulpit of St. Augustine's Church in Washington that brought them out to the University to pay this final mark of respect. It was not difficult to like the Monsignor; he was, in fact, what one might truthfully call a lovable man. His geniality, his kindliness, his consideration for others won him a host of friends among men of all walks of life. He had no more ardent admirers than the Knights of Columbus of the city of Washington in whose activities as their chaplain he took such a lively interest. Numbered, too, among those who showed a marked fondness for this distinguished professor were the maids who took care of his apartment, his former secretaries, the lay students who brought his meals to his apartment after 1944 when he could no longer go to the dining hall in Curley Hall, and finally, but by no means least, the devoted Sisters of Divine Providence who gladdened his last days by their assiduous care for his needs. There was hardly a day that the present writer visited his apartment in Curley Hall during the last two and a half years that the tray would not come in from the dining room with a little bouquet to brighten his room, or that large floral decorations would not be found on the table or windowsill of his study from some friend in the city or from

one living at a distance from Washington. These are, of course, insignificant details in the life of Peter Guilday and the professional world in which he enjoyed his fame knew nothing of them. Yet they were a far more eloquent testimony of the love which those who lived about him daily bore him than the dazzling decorations of foreign governments and the honorary degrees of the universities.

No student of Monsignor Guilday will ever forget the friendly and intimate gatherings of the seminar at 1234 Monroe Street, N. E., in the years when he maintained his residence in Brookland. They were events to be looked forward to with keen anticipation and one never came away without having learned something of value and without a feeling of a closer personal bond with the central personality of the evening. The present writer recalls, too, that when Professor Guilday went abroad for a sabattical leave during the academic year 1928-1929 he did not forget the students he had left behind him in Washington. Not only did we hear of him through his secretary at his office, but there would be fairly regular postcards from Rome, Paris, and London which let us know that we—and what seemed then our very grave academic problems—were not forgotten.

These memories and a host of others crowd into the mind now that Peter Guilday has gone. It is no exaggeration to say that he was one of the most distinguished men ever to be associated with the faculty of the Catholic University of America. He deserves to rank with Bouquillon and Shahan and Pace and John A. Ryan among the University's immortals.

As the days of his last illness wore on he lapsed frequently into a coma, pneumonia developed, and after a week of struggle his frail body gave way and at the first vespers of the feast of St. Peter's Chains on the afternoon of July 31 Peter Guilday's own chains of suffering were broken. According to the very specific directions which he left in writing he was buried from the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception on Monday, August 4, with a low Mass of requiem and no eulogy. The Most Reverend J. Carroll McCormick, Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia, read the Mass and the Rector of the University, the Right Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, explained to the large congregation the wishes of the deceased in regard to his simple funeral. He was buried in the University lot in Mount Olivet Cemetery in

Washington. Monsignor Guilday was a Dominican tertiary and there seemed something especially fitting, therefore, that he should be buried on the feast of St. Dominic.

On the occasion of the visit to the University of Cardinal Pacelli, then Papal Secretary of State, in October, 1936, the future Pope had addressed the faculty, during which he had spoken of the high and sacred calling of the teacher, remarking that "after the priesthood of the Altar there is none greater than the priesthood of Truth." On June 14, 1939, the commencement day of the University's golden jubilee year, Monsignor Guilday was appointed to pay tribute to the new Pope Pius XII in the name of the faculty. On that occasion he spoke words which those who knew him will agree he had fulfilled in his own life: "All of us partaking of the priesthood of the Altar and the priesthood of Truth renew to His Holiness at the outset of His glorious pontificate the solemn pledge of our sacred academic honor in spreading the light of that Truth in the hearts of all who come to us to learn."

Peter Guilday did spread the light of truth in the hearts of all who came to him to learn, and those who were enriched in their minds by contact with his splendid intellect will, we know, join with the editors of the REVIEW which he founded in praying for the repose of his immortal soul.

*The Catholic University of America*

# ARCHBISHOP IRELAND AND MANIFEST DESTINY

By

John T. Farrell*

It has been reasonably established that the war with Spain in 1898 was, "from the point of view of technical diplomacy," a war which could have been avoided.[1] Although this was not generally appreciated in 1898 as it is possible to understand it today, there was, nevertheless, among diplomats an awareness of failure which made the outcome of events a cause for some high irritability[2] or some plain disillusionment. Among the disillusioned was John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, who had a brief diplomatic career as the servant of Pope Leo XIII in the cause of peace.

Ireland's mission of peace to Washington from his Archdiocese of St. Paul took place toward the end of March when the crisis had developed to a point of great danger, and when it was already apparent in Washington and Madrid that a decisive change would have to be made in Spain's Cuban policy if there was to be no war. The battleship *Maine* had been sunk in Havana harbor on February 15. On March 18 Senator Redfield Proctor had delivered a striking speech on conditions in Cuba, a speech which had all the more effect upon American opinion because it constituted an "eye-witness"

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[1] A. L. P. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy* (New York, 1928), pp. 63 ff. The latest in scholarship is summarized in Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (New York, 1943), pp. 129-137. Cf. also, F. E. Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy* (New York, 1909), p. 575.

[2] Orestes Ferrara, *The Last Spanish War, Revelations in "Diplomacy"* (New York, 1937), p. 7. This is the most comprehensive monograph on the diplomatic history of the European aspects of the war. Although the author makes the unwarranted assumption that the justice of the Cuban cause was beyond question, attempts to dramatize the principal characters to an unpleasant degree, and makes his treatment of the Vatican's role in diplomacy an occasion for flippant remarks, it must nevertheless be conceded that his researches in the Spanish, Italian, French, and American archives have been such as to put all subsequent researchers in his debt. Cf. also, Lester B. Shippee, "Germany and the Spanish-American War," *American Historical Review*, XXX (July, 1925), 754-778.

report by a statesman who was generally believed to be a moderate on the subject of Cuban independence.[3] The determined attitude of the administration was conveyed to the Spanish government when, on March 23, the American minister, General Stewart L. Woodford, told them that a general report on the *Maine* had been completed, and that a review of the relations of the United States and Spain would soon go to Congress unless, within a few days, a conclusion were reached for an immediate and honorable peace for Cuba. On March 29 Woodford presented specific demands, amounting to an ultimatum: Spain was to revoke the *reconcentrado* order, proclaim an armistice until October 1, and agree that if no permanent settlement had been made by that time the President of the United States should be the final arbiter in the dispute between Spain and Cuba. Negotiations should proceed meanwhile under American auspices and Spanish officials should permit the distribution of relief supplies to distressed persons on the island.[4] With a reply necessary by March 31, the Spanish were resorting to some last desperate efforts to secure international support in order to save prestige, even if they could not retain the last remnant of a once great empire in the western hemisphere.[5] It was only at this point, when the hopelessness of the Spanish cause had impressed every European government, that the

[3] Senator Proctor urged McKinley, sometime in March, 1898, to give up considerations for our neutral obligations and to "place the matter in the hands of Congress, stating earnestly that whatever action they take will be put in execution with all the powers at your command." The exact date is not given, but the letter probably followed the senator's speech of the eighteenth. Library of Congress Mss. McKinley Papers, 2367-2369.

[4] These events may be followed in *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence and Documents, 1896-1900, Presented to the Cortes by the Minister of State*, [Translation] (Washington, 1905). Cf. especially, pp. 95, 104-106. Cf. also, *United States Foreign Relations 1898*, pp. 704, 711-713, 718-724; and Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

[5] On March 26, 1898, Spain called upon the powers for some kind of a demonstration to induce the disputants to accept an arbiter. J. Fred Rippy, *Latin America in World Politics* (New York, 1938), p. 159. For the history of earlier Spanish attempts to stir up the governments of Europe on their behalf, cf. Ferrara, *op. cit., passim*. The first attempt, involving the "Memorandum of 1896" had fallen flat, principally, as the Spanish discerned, because of the British partiality for American interests. *Ibid*, pp. 48-78.

Pope found himself called upon to exercise a moderating influence.[6] Naturally, in the absence of any regular diplomatic representation in Washington, Leo XIII turned to a personal friend of the American Chief Executive for informal communication. John Ireland was available for this delicate mission.

Ireland[7] appeared to qualify for this personal approach as a friend of President McKinley and all the more so as a member of the

[6] There had been a German suggestion of papal intervention as early as March 21. On March 22, in response to an inquiry, the German ambassador at Madrid reported to Buelow that Spain would accept papal arbitration on the basis of surrendering Cuba. This proved to be an erroneous impression (Rippy, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159.) Early German efforts to interest the Vatican had met with some coolness because the Vatican did not share the German view that Spanish public opinion would not blame the Pope for the loss of Cuba (Cf. Ferrara, *op. cit.*, p. 115). German and Austrian interest in the preservation of the "monarchical principle" was not strong enough to bring those governments to any intervention which would give France and Russia a chance to support the United States, and so embarrass the Central Powers; but all of the governments agreed that papal intervention would not affect the European balance of power. The Germans realistically assumed that only Spain's sacrifice of Cuba would satisfy the United States. Not until March 25, on the occasion of a circular telegram from Madrid to all representatives of Spain abroad, did the Vatican communicate any sentiments on the crisis. Cardinal Rampolla then declared to the Spanish ambassador that he was much impressed, that he approved of the reply which was to be made to the Woodford statement of March 23, and recommended that Spain endeavor to persuade the European cabinets to exercise their influence at Washington to avert war. He declared himself convinced that France would be of great assistance. "He will advise the Pope of my Communication, and assures me we may count upon the friendliness of the Holy See" (Merry del Val to Gullon. *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence*, pp. 99-100.) For the subsequent sounding out of the Spanish government by the Pope, on urgent request of the German and Austrian governments, and the Spanish "intransigeance," which was no surprise to Cardinal Rampolla, cf. Ferrara, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

[7] There is no full-length biography of Ireland (b. September 11, 1838, d. September 25, 1918), despite his importance in the history of the Catholic Church in America. The sketch by Richard J. Purcell in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (IX, 494-497) is an admirable introduction to a subject full of controversial material. The present writer has had access to some recently-discovered Ireland correspondence through the generous permission of the Most Reverend Peter L. Ireton, Bishop of Richmond. He takes this occasion to express his thanks, and to acknowledge the very helpful co-operation of the staff of the chancery office of that diocese. For a brief description of the material in the Richmond Diocesan Archives (hereafter RDA), cf. the *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXII (January, 1947), 464

Republican Party. His loyalty to the G.O.P. is suggested in the letter he wrote to Monsignor Denis J. O'Connell in 1895, requesting the courtesies of Rome for Mr. Joseph H. Mauley, described as chairman of the Republican National Committee, confidential friend of James G. Blaine, and the " 'head' of the great political party of which you and I are loyal adherents."[8] He was proud of his Civil War experience as a chaplain and of his membership in the Grand Army of the Republic; and he had given full support to the "advance agent of Prosperity," William McKinley, in 1896.[9] Needless to say, the support of an influential ecclesiastical personage in Minnesota, where Populist propaganda was a potent threat to the party of sound money and capitalism, could not go unappreciated. The Archbishop of St. Paul believed he could justifiably report to Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State, that he was a personal friend of McKinley, and that the latter was full of good will toward the Vatican.[10] The Pope and Cardinal Rampolla could, in the crisis of 1898, put to good use a relationship which in some respects seemed made to order for the occasion.

However, in spite of some favorable elements in the Ireland-McKinley relationship, any intervention by Vatican diplomacy in a critical situation involving the foreign relations of the United States

[8] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, March 14, 1895. For the relationship of Ireland and O'Connell in the controversies of their times, cf. "Americanism and the Catholic University of America," by Peter E. Hogan, *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXIII (July, 1947) 158-190.

[9] *D. A. B.*, IX, 495.

[10] "A letter sent to me by C. Rampolla has just arrived. . . . His Eminence's letter was a reply to the one in which I spoke of Mr. and Mrs. Draper—of McKinley's good will to the Vatican—of my acquaintance with our American Ministers 'a l'estero.' I had asked that Mrs. Draper have an audience and that the matter be arrangd through you. The Cardinal in his reply does not exactly say that he will do—But he writes an unusually gracious letter, and speaks of 'profiting as case may offer in an indirect manner of the good dispositions of Mr. Draper.' When you next see the Cardinal, please refer—without any mention of my letter—to Mr. Draper and to Pres. McKinley—and intimate that you will be glad to be the intermediary of any civilities, or good offices. If we are going to have an Italian Republic, as the Civilta intimates, the Vatican may need the good offices of Mr. Draper." RDA. Ireland to John J. Keane, St. Paul, January 21, 1898. William F. Draper was the United States Minister to Italy.

was bound to be hazardous. The lack of any regularly accredited diplomatic representative of the Papacy here in America reflected a stubborn resolution on the part of Protestants to ignore the temporal power of the Supreme Pontiff. Against this prejudice, even in normal times, it has been impossible for reasonable men to prevail. It is obvious, therefore, that in a situation where a portion of public opinion was clamoring for war,[11] where congressmen were beginning to press for decisive action against the more peaceful inclinations of the President, and at a stage when McKinley had realized that only the clearing up of the Cuban problem by a Spanish willingness to grant major concessions would avert armed intervention by the United States, it would take an extraordinarily tactful, clear-headed, and self-effacing diplomat to carry through, informally, any negotiations on the American end. Despite the best of intentions,[12] John Ireland could not qualify on any of these counts. Far from being tactful, he is remembered by some as "the consecrated blizzard of the Northwest," a name which he earned by his many encounters with fellow-ecclesiastics, encounters which were well aired in the press; more inclined to storm positions by frontal attacks than to resort to any well thought out strategy, he could hardly be described as clear-headed; and, up to the point where he embarked upon this brief diplomatic career, he had not been distinguished for self-effacement. Indeed, and after making full allowances for his constant zeal to serve both God and Country, it must be pointed out that the Spanish-

[11] For a brilliant portrayal of the war fever, cf. Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit* (New York, 1931); also, J. E. Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press, 1895-1898* (New York, 1934).

[12] That John Ireland, like most of those to whom the Civil War remained a vivid memory, had a sincere desire to have his country avoid war with Spain cannot be doubted. The O'Connell Papers contain a newspaper clipping with no indication of name or date of publication, but which from internal evidence is pretty clearly a report of an interview by Ireland in New York early in March, 1898. In this interview Ireland expressed himself as believing that war with Spain was not inevitable, even though it should be determined that the destruction of the *Maine* was "no accident." He declared that "if guilt is brought to the door of Spain full retributive justice should be the order of the day. Liberal indemnity, profuse apologies and full reparation ought to be preferable to the legislators rather than that course which would entail upon the country the consequences of war."

American war crisis put to a sudden test a relationship which had been cultivated more for its partisan possibilities than for any disinterested service to the Vatican.

One may follow in certain letters of 1897, and up to March, 1898, the course of a determined campaign on the part of Ireland and his friends, known generally as the "Americanists," to make the most of the current political situation.[13] Monsignor Denis O'Connell, Archbishop John J. Keane,[14] and Bishop Thomas O'Gorman of Sioux Falls figure in the correspondence. What they were seeking was to persuade Rome of the importance of Archbishop Ireland in America, and, as a means to that end, to procure from the McKinley administration conspicuous marks of gratitude for the strength which the archbishop brought to the G.O.P. in the form of Irish Catholic votes.[15] Typically American demonstrations served the same

[13] Thomas T. McAvoy's article, "Americanism, Fact and Fiction," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXI (July, 1945), 133-153, and Vincent F. Holden, "A Myth in *'L'Américanisme',*" *ibid.,* 154-170, constitute essential background here. Cf. also, Father McAvoy's "Americanism and Frontier Catholicism," *Review of Politics* V (July, 1943), 275-301. For a review of those doctrines called "Americanist," but not necessarily held by the Americans involved, F. Deshayes, "Américanisme," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* I, 1043-1050, is excellent.

[14] John Joseph Keane (b. September 12, 1839, d. June 22, 1918) was then living in Rome, having there been named Archbishop of Damascus, canon of St. John Lateran, and a member of the Congregations of Propaganda and Studies, after a not altogether voluntary resignation (September, 1896) from his place as Rector of the Catholic University of America. John Ireland, in a letter to one Monsignor Boeglin (RDA. St. Paul, December 3, 1897), complains that the American hierarchy had failed to protest at this: "Deux ou trois seulement répondirent energiquement à la levée de bouchers quand la destitution de Mgr. Keane fut anoncée." Keane returned to the United States in 1900 to become second Archbishop of Dubuque. For a sketch of his life cf. *D. A. B.,* X, 267-268.

[15] It has been suggested that President McKinley named Joseph McKenna to be Attorney General out of gratitude to the Catholics who had supported him in 1896, and that John Ireland was particularly one to be pleased by the appointment. Cf. Matthew McDevitt, *Joseph McKenna, Associate Justice of the United States* (Washington, 1946), p. 91n. After McKinley's election to a second term he received a letter from Ireland reminding him that he should have a Catholic in the Cabinet. Now that McKenna had been raised to the Supreme Court it was Ireland's opinion that Richard C. Kerens (cf. *D. A. B.,* X, 353) should be named either Postmaster General or Secretary of the Interior. Library of Congress Mss., McKinley Papers, 14073-14074.

purpose. On August 9, 1897, Ireland wrote to O'Connell of a coming celebration in Buffalo, in honor of the President, and enclosed a newspaper clipping:

McKINLEY ACCEPTS

HE WILL ATTEND A BANQUET AT BUFFALO IN AUGUST

Buffalo, N. Y. Aug. 6.—Commander Connell, of Columbia Post, G.A.R., of Chicago, who is in this city, today received a letter from Private Secretary Porter announcing the acceptance by President McKinley of an invitation to a banquet to be tendered him by the post in this city, on Aug. 24. The speakers at the banquet will be President McKinley, Commander-in-Chief Clarkson, of the Grand Army; Gov. Black, Mayor Jewett, Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul; Gen. John S. Wise, of New York, of the Confederate army; Gen. Alger, Secretary of War; Gen. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy; Justice Brewer, of the supreme court, and Charles D. Anderson, the negro orator.

Ireland added the detail that he was to be with McKinley in the reviewing stand "as 53,000 veterans will march." In the same letter, he remarked that it was "too bad the Drapers cannot have a private audience." Presumably, O'Connell would give all this proper publicty in Rome, and make it serve as preparation for the trip to Europe which the Archbishop of St. Paul was contemplating for the next year.[16] The timing would allow for a full manifestation of the administration's friendliness in its first year of office.

One mark of the cordiality of McKinley would be a signal to the Vatican, by a letter perhaps, expressing a desire on the part of the administration that Archbishop Ireland should be made a cardinal. Bishop O'Gorman was a prime mover in the scheme to procure such a letter, but he ran into objections from O'Connell and Keane as to its advisability. On December 9, 1897, O'Gorman wrote to O'Connell:

My Dear Friend: I agree with you and I do not agree with you. I agree with you as to the substance of the letter; as to the person who is

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[16] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, August 9, 1897. Ireland intended to go to Europe in 1898 and spend "six long months" there. The war interfered with his plans. For these plans, and for the relation of the trip to items of current controversy, the aforementioned letter to Monsignor Boeglin is interesting. (RDA. John Ireland to Monsignor Boeglin, St. Paul, December 3, 1897.)

to present it. The following passage in your letter I do not understand: "And he is not of the opinion that a hat should be asked for anyone, nor do I think it well to specify anything in the president's letter in particular." Now I don't understand that particular passage of your letter, nor do I understand Keane's opinion in this whole matter. I am going to St. Paul tomorrow. Thence I am going to Washington. There I shall see the men whom you know. It is useless to lay before McKinley a letter dealing with abstract principles. If anything is laid on his desk, it must be something very personal; for there is this resemblance between European *absolute* politics and American *practical* politics, that both deal with *persons.* Therefore I will go to Washington, I will get a letter from McKinley, and in that letter I will have my man named.[17]

Evidently Archbishop Ireland agreed with Keane and O'Connell, for Bishop O'Gorman wrote in January that he did not go to Washington after all. The archbishop, he explained, feared he might compromise the administration.[18] However, the scheme was not permanently abandoned. That Ireland thought it to be simply a matter of time and circumstance is indicated by his advice to O'Connell to be nice to the "late Superintendent of Public Works of New York," one General Collins, who expected to visit Rome. General Collins was "a leading Republican," and O'Connell might "tell him what should be done by the administration on the line of your letter to O'Gorman—If anything were to be done."[19] But on March 15 Ireland wrote to O'Connell not to say much of politics to this visitor. He was not so sure of his friendship after all. Besides, after an interview with McKinley, it had been decided that it would be better for the time being just to have Roosevelt, Hanna, and others "express their ideas to Martinelli."[20]

[17] RDA. Thomas O'Gorman to D. J. O'Connell, Sioux Falls, December 9, 1897.

[18] RDA. Avignon [O'Gorman] to D. J. O'Connell, Sioux Falls, January 11 [1898].

[19] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, January 29, 1898.

[20] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, March 15, 1898. But O'Connell must have made it a pleasant visit for General Collins anyhow. Ireland received an enthusiastic account of his stay in Rome from this gentleman and passed on his thanks to O'Connell. RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, May 2, 1898. The holidays at the end of the year 1897 had seen the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli, in St. Paul for twelve days of "banquets, receptions, visits, etc." Ireland admitted to O'Connell that the object was to win the dignitary's support, declared that he thought he had

But if Ireland was circumspect in avoiding anything that would give himself and the McKinley administration an unfavorable public reaction, he was prompted to greater boldness by the fear that his great rival for prestige, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York, might get the honor of a red hat from Rome before the Pope was properly impressed with St. Paul's greater importance in the American environment. We see his fear of some such eventuality in a letter of February 5:

> The news now in America is the great jubilee of Abp. Corrigan, May 4th—and the giving to him then, of the hat. The papers are full of what is to come. What will you advise me—to be present or to be absent? I wish to remain away. Then, is there any danger that he may get the hat? Abp. Keane ought to sound Rampolla. Such an occurrence must be prevented—at any price.
>
> I have read your letter to Bp. O'Gorman—nothing yet has been done. I confess to a great reluctance to have anything done—lest publicity be afterwards given to the proceedings. However, we shall have to obey orders from Rome.[21]

There was a long record, by 1898, of controversies which had made Ireland and Corrigan the respective heads of two parties in the American Church.[22] This is not the place in which to examine in

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been successful, and that the Pope's representative had been "fairly dazzled" by the outpourings of civic good will on the part of the people of all faiths in the twin cities. RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, January 8, 1898.

[21] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, February 5, 1898. It should be noted in this connection that the Irish in New York were, of course, predominantly in the Democratic Party. The Archbishop of St. Paul did not approve of Tammany Hall. On the other hand, there is no record of his ever having urged upon Rome the undesirability of raising Democrats as such to the rank of cardinal.

[22] Father McAvoy in the article cited *supra* has a brief review of the issues and gives the pertinent writings in print by 1945. In speaking of the rivalry of the two archbishops, the authors of the monumental history of the Archdiocese of Boston have this to say: "This was a classic example of two excellent men who were the antipodes of each other in temperament and methods, and who then, through false or exaggerated tales, were brought into most unhappy misunderstandings and mutual estrangement. Neither, it may be added, was conspicuous for tact, though the impulsive and outspoken prelate of St. Paul showed this deficiency most in his dealings with his colleagues, and the shy and sensitive Archbishop of New York displayed it most in dealing with the press and public." Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), III, 163.

detail the lengthy history of these quarrels, on which there is already a fairly large literature. However, it must be observed that by 1898 the domestic squabbles had been enlarged to the point of including European ideological conflicts, particularly in France, where Walter Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker* had been given a translation and an interpretation, which made it a storm center in the atmosphere already heavy with the disputes between monarchists and republicans. A bristling attack upon the ideas attributed to Father Hecker by his French admirers had been penned under the title, *Études sur l'Américainisme. Le Père Hecker, Est-il un saint?* The author was the Reverend Charles Maignen, and he had gone to Rome for his *imprimatur,* receiving it from the Master of the Sacred Palace, Albert Lepidi, O.P.[23] In fact, the summer of 1898, which was the time of the Spanish-American War, was also the time when "Americanism" was nearly denounced as a heresy. In the final outcome, the rivalry of the Archbishops of New York and St. Paul came near to being decisive in favor of the issuance of the decree, while only a very strong letter of Cardinal Gibbons succeeded in averting it.[24] Thus, in the light of all the circumstances, one can understand that the success or failure of Ireland's peace mission was likely, in the course of that year, to have repercussions in ecclesiastical circles both in Europe and in America. Just as the Pope might have been better served in Washington by a personality more detached from American interests, so also, in view of the consequences of failure, and for his own peace of mind, Ireland might have been wise to have evaded all but the most formal acquiescence in his mission.

It cannot be determined with any precision just when the Arch-

[23] Cf. Father Holden's article cited *supra.* Archbishop Ireland already had a bad name with the French monarchists for his address in Paris, June 18, 1892, in which he praised the American form of government and the "Church's happy self-government under a constitution which made Caesarism impossible." *Ibid.,* p. 156. The address may be found in John Ireland, *The Church and Modern Society: Lectures and Addresses* (2 vols. New York, 1903), I, 361-395.

[24] Ireland did not learn until the next year that Corrigan had congratulated Lepidi upon the *imprimatur* for Maignen. In discussing the matter with Father Elliott, Corrigan is reported to have said: "The main trouble with your *Life of Father Hecker* at Rome is due to your connection with Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Keane, who are in great disfavor there. If you will repudiate them all will go well." Holden *op. cit.,* pp. 168-169.

bishop of St. Paul arrived in Washington to begin his "diplomatic career." According to the report of the German representative at the Vatican, the telegram directing Ireland to undertake the mission had been sent on March 27.[25] That was a Sunday. There may have been a day or two in which he prepared for the journey; perhaps, he even considered the advisability of staying at home.[26] The trip itself must have taken him two days at the very least, so that it would not be unreasonable to assume that he arrived in Washington as late as Thursday, March 31. He deliberately avoided any publicity, so that there is no mention of his arrival in the Washington papers. Certainly, from the meager reflections of his activity in the published records of the diplomacy of that time, we can credit him with no part before the Madrid government's delivery, on March 31, of an unsatisfactory reply to General Woodford's ultimatum.[27] The next day, Friday, could well have been spent in consideration of a report to the Holy See on the United States government's reaction to this Spanish answer, which had also been made known in Rome through a circular telegram to all of the European governments. Saturday, April 2, brought the first results of Ireland's presence in Washington.

It must have been obvious from Ireland's dispatch on the situation in Washington that the United States government would not be appeased by the Spanish "ultimate limit" of concessions.[28] The news,

[25] According to the information of Otto von Buelow at the Vatican, the telegram directing Ireland to proceed to Washington was sent March 27. E. T. S. Dugdale, *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914,* (New York, 1929), II, 505.

[26] On May 11, after receiving news from O'Connell that his Washington mission had done him no good in Rome, he wrote: "I felt, as I was going to Washington, that I should harm myself. My first resolve was to stay at home, and I would have done so, were it not for Abp. Keane's repeated telegrams." RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, May 11, 1898. He may have given undue weight to his misgivings when he wrote this letter.

[27] *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence,* pp. 107-109.

[28] Besides offering to submit the *Maine* case to arbitration the Spaniards announced a qualified revocation of the *reconcentrado* policy. They offered to submit the question of a stable peace to the "insular parliament," which would not meet until May 4, and declared that they would find it inconvenient "to accept at once a suspension of hostilities asked for by the insurgents from the general in chief." Meanwhile, they would accept United States relief assistance for the Cubans. *Ibid.,* pp. 107-108.

which may have been disappointing in substance to the Spanish government, reached them in a dispatch from Monsignor Raphael Merry del Val:

> Rome, April 2, 1898.—Cardinal Rampolla has just been to see me in behalf of His Holiness, to tell me that the reports received from Washington are very grave. The President of the Republic desires to reach a settlement, but he is finding himself helpless against Congress. The difficulty lies in who should ask for a suspension of hostilities. The President of the Republic seems well disposed to accept the offices of the Pope, and the latter, wishing to aid us, inquires, first, if the intervention of His Holiness to ask the armistice would save the national honor; second, if such intervention would be acceptable to His Majesty and the Government. I beg an immediate answer from your excellency, as the situation is critical and the Pope asks for an early reply.[29]

Nevertheless, and in spite of the news that the United States was not prepared to accept the Spanish terms, it was of great importance now that the Spaniards were hearing about it, not from General Woodford in Madrid, but from their ambassador at the Holy See. This dignitary, whose intimacy with Cardinal Rampolla was understandable[30] in view of the historical connection between the Papacy and the Spanish crown, had provided the hard-driven ministers with at least an opportunity for a cheap diplomatic triumph. Although it was an unwarranted, even a dangerous interpretation of the words, "The President of the Republic seems well disposed to accept the offices of the Pope," they let it be known that McKinley would be grateful to the Pope if the latter would get him out of his serious difficulty with the Congress! Ferrara describes the situation in these terms:

> Monsignor Ireland, in carrying out his mission, reported to the Holy See, after a visit to the President, that McKinley's intentions were of the best, but that he needed "help" in his efforts to prevent war. In the minds of McKinley and Ireland, the word "help" signified a wish that Spain should act in a way calculated to calm the tremendously overwrought

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[30] Ireland developed a dislike for this Spaniard who afterwards succeeded Rampolla as Papal Secretary of State. Cf. his letter to Mrs. Storer of September 11, 1903: "I am not totally won over yet to the new Pope—I shall never be, if he names Merry del Val, his Secretary of State. But, indeed, a misfortune of such a size, I do not apprehend as possible." *In Memoriam Bellamy Storer*, by Maria Longworth Storer (Privately Printed, 1923), p. 80.

state of mind of the American public; in other words, that Spain should cede voluntarily, what she would later, in any event, have to give up under duress, and on terms much less advantageous to her. However, because of the conflicting psychologies of peoples, a condition which ought never to be overlooked by any diplomat or other intermediary between nations, the word "help" was not understood correctly at the Vatican, or by the Spanish Ambassador at the Holy See, to whom a cable from Ireland telling of his conversation with the President, was duly shown. President McKinley's expression was interpreted as a plea for diplomatic aid by the Pope; in short, a plea that the Pope accept the role of arbitrator.

On this erroneous interpretation being telegraphed to Madrid, Minister of State Gullon lost no time in informing the governments of the Great Powers that the Government of the United States had solicited intervention by the Pope.

The Great Powers congratulated Spain on her success. Always, in all great tragedies, there is a comic note![31]

It is possible to follow the unfortunate developments of the affair in the official correspondence. Spain made reply to the Vatican on Sunday, the day the Madrid newspapers were carrying a distorted account of the Pope's offer. The telegram dispatched to Merry del Val was carefully phrased:

Madrid, April 3, 1898.—The moment the United States Government is disposed to accept the aid of the Pope, the Queen of Spain and her Government will gladly accept his mediation, and, in order to facilitate the high mission of peace and concord which His Holiness is attempting, promise further to accept the proposal that the Holy Father shall formulate a suspension of hostilities; informing His Holiness that for the honor of Spain it is proper that the truce should be accompanied by the retirement of the American squadron from the waters of the Antilles, in order that the North American Republic may also show its purpose not to support—voluntarily or involuntarily—the insurrection in Cuba.[32]

Now it is important to recall that the United States was pressing for an immediate armistice in Cuba, and that Spain had, in her note

[31] But the "erroneous interpretation" was seemingly the deliberate work of the Spanish ministers, not of Merry del Val at Rome. Cf. his dispatch as given *supra*. Ferrara, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120, in giving this account cites "Spanish Archives: Docket 37." It is to be assumed that he had access to material which the Spanish did not choose to print in *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence*. There is nothing in that volume to indicate that Spain informed the other powers of this event or secured their congratulations.

[32] *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence*, p. 110.

of March 31, refused to accede to such a proposition.[33] Not only had there been a rejection of the United States proposal, there had as well been a refusal of an earlier Vatican suggestion to the same general purpose, made at the request of Germany. On April 1, the Emperor William II of Germany learned that "the Spanish Government declares it to be impossible to accept arbitration [by the Pope] on the basis of cession of Cuba." This prompted the kaiser to write in the margin of the dispatch: "Then there is no way of helping them! They will lose Cuba all the same!"[34] Having turned down the idea of conceding to President McKinley the role of arbiter of Cuban freedom, and having rejected the formula of papal arbitration which the Germans had believed would enable the monarchy to survive the loss of Cuba, the Spaniards now seized an opportunity to use the Pope as an instrument. They may have believed that they could divert to Rome the displeasure of the United States; and to some extent they succeeded in doing so.

In Washington there was a brief moment on that Sunday when, according to Ireland's later account,[35] "joy reigned in the White House." Messages from Rampolla indicated that Spain had accepted the armistice. But "then came other cablegrams, that Spain demanded the withdrawal of our fleet from Key West—a thing the President would not dare do." There must have been considerably less joy in the White House Sunday night when a cipher message from Woodford was transcribed for the President; or, perhaps, McKinley had gone to bed and Assistant Secretary of State William R. Day received it and answered it on his own responsibility. The message informed the Chief Executive that the American minister was that evening in receipt of a confidential communication from the Spanish minister for foreign affairs, to the effect that the Pope, *"at the suggestion of the President of the United States,"* proposed to offer to Spain his

[33] On March 31, Woodford wrote to McKinley that "Spanish pride will not permit the ministry to propose and offer an armistice, which they really desire, because they know that armistice now means certain peace next autumn. I am told confidentially that the offer of armistice would cause revolution here." *United States Foreign Relations 1898*, p. 727.

[34] Dugdale, *op. cit.*, II, 506.

[35] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, Washington, April 8, 1898.

mediation, in order that "the Spanish government grant an immediate armistice to Cuba, which will facilitate and prepare an early an [*sic*] honorable peace." The rest of the dispatch was really an anti-climax. It made little difference that the Spanish government was disposed to honor the request of the Pope, who was acting from motives "not political but humane," or that there was attached the condition for the withdrawal of the American fleet from the Caribbean area. Woodford did not completely miss the point of his own dispatch when he said, "I think there may be a mistake in the telegram from Rome to the Queen and that the words 'at the suggestion of the President' may mean with the knowledge or with the approval of the President."[36] It is not difficult to understand the point of Assistant Secretary Day's reply,[37] which was sent at two A. M. on Monday:

> The President has made no suggestions to Spain except through you. He made no suggestions other than those which you were instructed to make for an armistice to be offered by Spain to negotiate a permanent peace between Spain and insurgents, and which Spain has already rejected.

It was on Monday, April 4, that the Washington papers first gave any attention to Ireland's presence in the capital. The Washington *Evening Star* put on the front page the news of the Pope's request to the Queen Regent for an armistice in Cuba. In a dispatch datelined "Madrid, Sunday April 3," it was said that before sending a telegram to the queen, the Pope, "through a representative in Washington, asked President McKinley if it would be agreeable to him should the Pope advise the queen regent to grant an armistice, and it is understood the President expressed willingness that the Pope should do anything in his power." This reflection of the distortions given out in Madrid on Sunday could not fail to embarrass the Washington administration, already enduring the criticisms of the war party, and now likely to incur the odium of truckling to Rome. A dispatch which followed quoted the Madrid *Globo* in such a way as to bring Ireland's name into the account, for according to that Spanish paper, "A new

[36] *United States Foreign Relations 1898*, p. 732. Italics supplied.

[37] For Woodford's covering letter including the cipher message and for Day's full reply, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 732, 734-735. Woodford received in too much good faith the assertion that the telegram from Rome included the phrase, "at the suggestion of the President." He does not say that he saw the telegram.

political power has developed in America in Archbishop Ireland, equal to that of President Cleveland and President McKinley." It asked, "Can it overcome the jingoes?" But the *Evening Star* was supplied with information which, though it would not facilitate the revival of John Ireland as a confidential go-between for further exchanges of peace offers, did serve to set aright the Madrid dispatches. It was able to quote "a cabinet officer" as authorizing the statement that this country would be unmoved by any mediation which did not secure the independence of Cuba. Then, in an editorial, it pointed out that the United States had not asked for and would not accept any mediation between ourselves and Spain. It was, the editor continued, the United States position that *we* were entitled to act as a mediator between Spain and the rebelling Cubans; and the *Evening Star* was probably reflecting the opinion of very high quarters when it suggested that this episode marked the appearance of a Spanish effort to put the blame for war on us, by announcing that they had accepted a peaceful solution.[38]

Since it was no longer a secret that the Archbishop of St. Paul was in Washington, he could make an open visit to the Department of State the following day, Tuesday, and the fact could be reported in the papers. The *Evening Star* said that the archbishop appeared in the morning to talk to Assistant Secretary Day, that he was very evasive when questioned by reporters, and would concede only that he had come to pay his respects.[39] Ireland was probably reporting the substance of his conversation with Day at this time when he later reviewed the unfortunate turn of publicity in a letter to Archbishop Keane:

[38] Washington *Evening Star*, April 4, 1898. The Washington *Post* of the same day put a picture of Leo XIII on the first page, along with a dispatch from Madrid to the effect that the Pope had been accepted as a mediator by Spain and the United States. It also reported that Assistant Secretary of State Day had denied the truth of the Madrid report. The latter paper, while it refrained from any mention of Ireland's presence in Washington, had, in its Sunday edition, reported from Rome news to the effect that the Pope had called upon Archbishop Ireland to use his influence on McKinley for peace. The Apostolic Delegate, when asked by a reporter, declared he knew nothing about it. Washington *Post*, April 3, 1898.

[39] Washington *Evening Star*, April 5, 1898.

Spain should not have given out that the Pope was acting at the invitation of the President. That assertion made McKinley be more careful of me. Mr. Day told me that no blame whatever was put on me, or the Pope. Yet, he added, certain elements in America take advantage of everything to blame the President. McKinley, you must remember, is not a daring man. I felt that right along. I felt too the anti-Catholic prejudice of a large fraction of Americans. I was, throughout, walking upon glass, and I now wonder that I came out from the ordeal so well, without having compromised my church, or my patriotism.[40]

That the Vatican was also distressed by the Spanish maneuver of Sunday, April 3, is clearly indicated by the extraordinary visitor reported by Draper, in Rome, as calling on him that same day on which Ireland paid his first public call on Mr. Day. In a letter to John Sherman, Secretary of State, Draper described the visit:

Sir: I beg leave to inform you that last evening I received a call from a gentleman who desired to read me a paper. I consented, and the substance seems of sufficient interest to place on file.

The paper purported to be a semi-official statement from the Vatican, concerning the mediation between our Country and Spain, which has been talked of in the papers for the last few days. It was stated that great regret was felt that the matter had got into public prints; that no mediation had been asked for by the United States; that the Church authorities felt that by making representations to both countries something might be done in the interest of preserving peace; that representations were made in Spain through Papal officers there; and that Archbishop Ireland was authorized to make similar representations at Washington. It was added that it was not supposed that the United States would accept the Pope as Mediator; and that such a proposition would not be made from the Vatican, as the Vatican knew it would not be accepted by the United States and might be of detriment both to our country and to the Catholic Church in America.

After reading his paper the gentleman retired taking it with him. I do not know whether he acted with authority or not, and as I have no official relations with the Vatican I have thought best to make no investigations or inquiries.[41]

[40] RDA. John Ireland to John J. Keane, St. Paul, May 28, [1898].

[41] William F. Draper to John Sherman No. 161, Rome, April 6, 1898. Department of State Records, National Archives. The *Evening Star* of April 5 made known in Washington a London report that the Pope had been disappointed in the reception of his efforts in America but not discouraged. According to this London story, the Pope had that morning sent Ireland a cablegram of 500

A further dispatch had to be sent by Draper the same day:

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that this morning during my reception hour, I had a call from another gentleman (See also my despatch No. 161 of April 6, 1898) who assumes to speak for the Vatican, his name being Ferdinando de Bojani. I do not know who he is, nor what his position is; but I shall make inquiry to ascertain if possible. He asked if I had any objection to hearing what he had to say, and I told him I had not if he did not expect to hear anything from me.

Mr. de Bojani then said substantially that the Pope felt that he had reason to complain of Spain in the negotiations he is attempting, in two particulars: (1), that the Spanish Government had given out that the United States had asked for, or agreed to, a mediation by the Pope, which was untrue: (2), that while the Pope asked Spain to grant an Armistice to the Cuban insurgents, they had not done that, but had made an appeal through the Autonomy Government of Cuba, urging the insurgents to lay down their arms and to join in building up the plan of home rule, promising modification of the present plan if needed or practical.

This so nearly coincided with a despatch which I received from the Department last night that I was greatly surprised, but made no comment. Mr. de Bojani, continuing, announced that several European Governments were to join with the Pope in making representations, both to Spain and the United States, with the end of preserving peace, and he added that the Vatican had news this morning that the President's Message, which it was supposed would favor Cuban independence, and intervention, would not be sent in today, April 6th, as expected, nor for some days yet, if indeed a message on these lines was ever sent in.

I told my informant that I was not at liberty to communicate such news as I had, although as a matter of fact I have no news on this subject; and if what he tells me is true, the Vatican has earlier Knowledge of the State of Affairs at Washington than the American Ambassador at Rome. If Mr. de Bojani's information proves correct, I shall take Especial interest in his Communications hereafter. If anything of importance is communicated to me by him I will forward it to the State Department.

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words, and was to have held a conference to which Archbishop Keane and Monsignor O'Connell were invited. Such a conference might have produced the decision to send Mr. Draper his visitor. The Washington *Post*, in a dispatch dated April 7, London, quotes the Rome correspondent of the London *Daily News* as saying that in Vatican circles the Spanish story of the United States asking the Pope's mediation was being called, that "lie from Madrid" which had spoiled everything. Washington *Post*, April 7, 1898.

It seems evident to me, aside from the special interviews that I have reported, that the Vatican is endeavoring to extend its operations outside of Spiritual work.[42]

The Spaniards were quickly brought to understand that their misrepresentations could not change the basic situation in which they found themselves. On April 4 they heard from their minister in Washington that Ireland had been to see him, that the archbishop was fresh from an interview with the President, and that his understanding was that Spain could expect war if the government was not prepared to grant an unconditional armistice to the Cubans.[43] On the following day some notion of the Vatican's displeasure may have been communicated to Madrid as well as to Mr. Draper; and in Berlin the Spanish ambassador heard from Foreign Minister Bernhard von Buelow that Spain would have done well to give the Pope *carte blanche* to prevent war.[44] When the effect of all this sank home, Woodford received assurances which he communicated to Assistant Secretary Day: The Spanish Government admitted, he said, that the President had never asked or suggested the mediation of the Pope, "and they regret the misunderstanding." He was informed officially now by the minister of colonies that the Cuban government was

[42] William F. Draper to John Sherman No. 162, Rome, April 6, 1898. Department of State Records, National Archives. From the last paragraph of the above, one gathers that Mr. Draper was suspicious of Vatican meddling. The telegram he sent in cipher on April 7 *(ibid.)* is a mild protest: "Confidential. Vatican seems have full knowledge of conditions in Washington. Unofficial statements come to me from that source which later I learn to be true." It is to be remembered that Ireland had once assured Cardinal Rampolla of this American's good dispositions toward the Vatican. On March 31, the somewhat credulous ambassador had been at pains to report to his government that the Spaniards had been trying to buy journalistic support in Rome, and then on May 11 that he had heard, "second-hand from the manager of one of the newspapers," that "although the subsidy spoken of was paid by Spanish official, the money was really furnished by the Vatican." He added to this last that, while he had not "absolute evidence" on the point, he was inclined to believe it. "At all events," he declared, "clerical sympathy here is strongly against us, and that may account for the fact that we have more sympathy in Government circles than might have been expected, ties of race being considered." William F. Draper to John Sherman No. 203, Rome, May 11, 1898. *Ibid.*

[43] *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence*, p. 111.

[44] Rippy, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

issuing a proclamation to the people "looking to immediate peace." Day might get the full text from the Spanish minister at Washington. But the Assistant Secretary of State promptly replied that the Spanish proclamation was simply an appeal to the insurgents, not the desired armistice.[45] Woodford was in receipt of this at ten A. M. on April 5, and by three P. M. he had an offer which he hoped would go far to satisfy the American demands: Would the President "sustain the Queen" and prevent hostile action by Congress if he could secure before twelve o'clock on Wednesday a royal proclamation of an immediate and unconditional suspension of hostilities in the island of Cuba? To this Woodford got another cold response: The President appreciated the Queen's desire for peace and would, in his message to Congress the next day, Wednesday, pass on the offer without attempting to exert any influence.[46] Evidently, it was not the President's intention to commit himself to answer for Congress. The Spanish queen could try for herself the success of an unconditional armistice and the results could be judged along with the evidence submitted in the message.

It is from this point that Woodford, supported by the papal nuncio and by the Austrian ambassador in Madrid, continued a valiant campaign for peace without the benefit of the President's wholehearted resolution to retain executive control of the affair. Conditions in Washington were such that even an acceptance of the terms of the March 28 ultimatum would have been insufficient, and only a frank admission by Spain that she was finished in Cuba would have prevented the turning over of the situation to Congress. The Spanish had lost their final opportunity for a strictly diplomatic settlement. John Ireland is to some extent responsible for this turn of events in that he was not sufficiently careful to warn the Pope that the division between President and Congress must not be allowed to become a matter for exploitation in Madrid. Now there remained only the possibility that when the President's message should go to Congress,

[45] This dispatch of Woodford's, and Day's reply, are printed in *United States Foreign Relations, 1898*, pp. 736-737.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 734-735. Woodford's cable to McKinley containing the suggested proclamation is marked in the Department of State Records (National Archives) as received at four P. M. Day's reply went out at midnight.

it would be accompanied by news of concessions on the part of the Madrid government which would justify the exercise of Republican Party discipline to tone down any joint resolution on Cuba.

That the President was about to submit the Cuban business to Congress on Wednesday, and that the last chance for the avoidance of war lay in an immediate and unconditional armistice was the news received by the Spanish ministers from Rome, from Washington, and from Woodford in Madrid.[47] That was the day when Ireland wrote a letter to Cardinal Gibbons, his first admission even to this close friend that he was in Washington. It was a gesture which need not be postponed further, now that he had been recognized by the newspapers.

Your Eminence: I am sure you have been surprised to hear that I am in Washington. It is no pleasure for me I assure you to be away from home—especially at this season and to have my name cast to the four winds of the world. But I had to come.

I should have desired much to see you; but I found no time at my disposal. I will, however, spend a few hours with you, before I return to St. Paul.

You must wait for my visit to hear all the news. I can now only give you a summary. I came here at the request of the Pope—to work for peace. What I have done is to keep him well informed of the situation and to make him work.

The special task I have set him at is to obtain from Spain an armistice to Cuba. I had every reason to know that an armistice was the most probable means to avert war—for the present at least. Tremendous pressure has been brought to bear on Spain by the Pope to grant the armistice—but conditions and conditions were proposed by Spain. I hope now we

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[47] Ferrara, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121, cites a telegram from Rome to this effect, from the Spanish archives. The message from Washington reported that Minister Polo de Bernabé had heard the news from Archbishop Ireland. The latter had said that it was impossible to obtain the concession of withdrawing the American fleet at that time, but promised to remain in Washington "and hopes he can obtain it after our concession." *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence*, pp. 112-113. Woodford's communication was timed to coincide with the expected delivery of the message to Congress. It declared that if the armistice had been offered by the government of Spain, the President would have communicated that fact to Congress. After emphasizing that the message would not recommend the recognition of the insurgents, but would recommend measures looking to the cessation of hostilities, he offered to transmit any offer of an armistice up to twelve midnight. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

shall get it—definite and unconditional. We have wished to have it before the message goes to Congress this afternoon. We are expecting every moment but it may not come before tomorrow. Spain has been waiting on the Vatican, the Vatican on me—and I on many persons and things. My final cablegram left here yesterday at 7 P. M.

You will laugh when you hear of my diplomatic career—a cablegram (cipher) every day from the Vatican—another to it. Visits to me from Senators—three ambassadors. Visits from me—in secreto—to our own government. I am in this manner in communication with Washington, Madrid, Rome, Paris, and Vienna. Don't laugh too much—and don't speak of me to any one.

In spite of all war clouds—I believe we are going to have peace.

The message although hard on Spain, displeases Cubans and their friends, as it does not recognize independence of the island, and it thus gives room to discussion during which the armistice and a letter from the representatives of the great powers will calm the public irritation.[48]

But the presidential message was postponed to the following Monday. The consul-general at Havana wished to have time to withdraw Americans, and this was the reason given to Woodford for the postponement. The latter utilized the information to withdraw his notification of the previous day and revived his efforts to secure an armistice. As for John Ireland, the delay did not serve to keep up his optimism. He had assured Gibbons on Wednesday that peace was possible. On Friday, in a letter to Monsignor O'Connell,[49] he was of the opinion that war was "sure next Monday." "You know," he wrote, "that Congress has the right to declare war without the President, and that Congress seems bent on declaring it." In spite of the President's pacific intentions he can but "advise and switch off Congress." He repeated to O'Connell that his principal aim had been to secure an armistice in Cuba. As he saw its importance, and, by implication, as he understood the strategy of the administration, "McKinley would say to Congress: 'War has ceased. Spain will try to coax by even greater concessions the Cubans. She either will win them or will see that she cannot win, and in this case will sell the island.' In this

[48] Baltimore Cathedral Archives, 96-F-3. John Ireland to James Gibbons, Washington, April 6, 1898. Ireland gave his Washington address as 201 I Street.

[49] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, Washington, April 8, 1898. Dr. Frederick Z. Rooker was the secretary of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Martinelli.

manner we gain six months. Congress adjourns, and Providence works." He reviewed the unfortunate let-down of the preceding Sunday, when Spain attached to the grant of an armistice the impossible condition of the United States withdrawing her fleet; but he said nothing to O'Connell to indicate that he was aware at this time of the effect of the unfavorable publicity which had followed upon his report to Rome that the President needed "help." He was still hoping for good news and noted that the French and Austrian ambassadors were working hard on his "lines." He asserted that these diplomats were "quite angry with Spain." Plans had been prepared to make the insurgents accept the armistice; he was sure these would work if "Spain yields to the Pope." The Holy Father's efforts for peace were being well received in America, he assured O'Connell. Then he closed on a note which revealed an estimate of the importance of the whole affair to his prestige:

> Rooker has just called in to say: Abp. Corrigan lost $20,000 in sending over B. Cockran to persuade Rome of his political influence. If you succeed in getting peace, you will have established your influence in Rome and Washington at a cost of $500.

In this letter to O'Connell, Ireland appeared to believe that the final decision was bound to be made by Congress and that the President would not keep the affair in his own hands for a diplomatic settlement; at least that he would not do so beyond Monday, April 11. On Saturday the Spaniards gave way, ostensibly to the solicitations of the Pope, in reality to the diplomatic pressure of the United States Minister Woodford who was supported by the good advice of all the European powers. There is no reason to believe that this ultimate concession was designed to forestall the delivery of McKinley's message; there is equally no reason to believe that the Spaniards understood that the President would emphasize this concession in the message so as to persuade Congress that the Cuban situation was all but settled thereby. The most for which Woodford could hope—and he was earnest in his desire for a peaceful solution—was that McKinley would secure authority to use the Army and Navy to back up further negotiations *in Cuba*. In his "Personal No. 66"[50] to the President, sent on Sunday, he urged the President to secure such a free hand

[50] *United States Foreign Relations, 1898*, p. 747.

from Congress and expressed the hope that "nothing will be done to humiliate Spain," as he was satisfied that the present government was loyally ready to go as fast and as far as it could. "With your power of action sufficiently free you will win the fight on your own lines." Ireland was later to insist that McKinley had strong hopes that Republican discipline would give him such a free hand by limiting the enthusiasm of individual members for war. His letters, not all of which were written after he learned that he had incurred the displeasure of Rome for insisting that there would be peace *biduo ante bellum,* afford interesting, if not quite conclusive evidence on this point.

The archbishop must have returned to his home in St. Paul shortly after the hectic week in which the Congress produced the joint resolution declaring that the people of the island of Cuba "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." His state of mind as a result of his experience in Washington is to a great extent revealed in a letter of May 2 to Denis J. O'Connell. It contains a rather complete reaction to the implications of the war, which began on April 21.

My dear Friend: I need not repeat the finale of our peace negotiations. Congress went back on the President and all friends of peace: otherwise, all would have come out well. The Pope should have asked me to work two months sooner—in which case I should have succeeded.

In reply to your cablegram, received in Washington, I can say that I stand as well as ever, better than ever before America. It was to my credit to have worked for peace, so long as peace might be obtained, and to my credit to have accomplished so much with Spain and other foreign countries. Of course now, I am for war—for the Stars and Stripes. I am all right—as an American.

I now receive your second cablegram: "Help hold Philippines." All right! Evidently, you wish America to be in a situation to frighten Europe. Well, she is in that situation. And henceforward she will be more so. The result of this war will be to strengthen and enlarge our navy, and reach out for new territory. If the Pope in the future is to have any world-wide prestige, he must deal as never before with America. Tell all this in Rome. And even if we do not hold Cuba and the Philippines, the church there will be organized on the lines of Americanism.

I do not, I confess, like our present war: but great good will come from it, in the enlargement of American influence.

At this present moment America feels big enough to tackle all Europe.[51]

[51] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, May 2, 1898.

Ireland was so sure that he was "all right as an American," that he believed it would be some time at least before Archbishop Corrigan's party had the temerity to attack him. As for that New York jubilee, it had been "not much—a money speculation." And they were all annoyed to death that he, Ireland, had been asked to go to Washington.[52] But the very aggressive tone of this letter, with its enthusiasm for Manifest Destiny, may have masked a certain uneasiness about the results of his "diplomatic career" in terms of his standing at Rome. Was his Americanism much of a shield against thrusts made at his reputation in Vatican circles? In urging O'Connell to "tell all this in Rome," he may have been thinking to convince certain people beforehand of the awful consequences in store for the Church in America if the United States government's favorite prelate were not treated with proper consideration. At any rate, when the blow fell he professed not to be surprised. Nine days later he was again writing to O'Connell:

My dear Friend, Your telegram about the "Vatican indignation" did not much surprise me. What those people want is success, and when success does not come they make no allowance. I felt, as I was going to Washington, that I should harm myself. My first resolve was to stay at home, and I would have done so, were it not for Abp. Keane's repeated telegrams. The chief element of success was lacking—time. We were on the eve of war, and no matter what measures were to be taken, they were likely to fail, because there was no time to calm public opinion. The President proposed the armistice; foreign ministers chimed in; and when armistice came we all thought that time should be ours—during which time all should be made right.

My cablegrams, hopeful as they seemed, were never penned until each evening I had heard from the White House. I did not myself visit frequently the White House, to avoid the reporters. Senator Elkins was my intermediary, and I visited him every evening, and he visited me every noon.

Think, how much was done: the President postponing his message four days, waiting for the armistice! Had the armistice not been delayed by Spain, we might have done much better. The President relied on his party, and the party in the House was with him. The resolution proposed in the House left the use of the army and navy discretionary with the President; it was all that was needed; the President would never have used army or navy. But the Senate went mad on politics: the Democrats roared for

[52] RDA. *Ibid.*

war. Some Republicans thought that the Democrats had with them popular favor, and went one better. And the Senate, once for war by a strong majority, the House gave in. Storer saw the President and Mr. Day the evening of the day when the House passed its own resolution, and even then the President was hopeful, although I myself before that day had lost hope.[53]

Before continuing with Ireland's complaints about the ingratitude of the Vatican, it might be a good thing to review his interpretation of the events of April 3 through April 11. He was now claiming, in effect, that to him belonged some credit for the postponement of the President's message, and that the armistice was a sort of key to unlock the door to a certain peace. However, it is to be observed that neither in his letter to Gibbons of April 6, nor in his letter to O'Connell of April 8, did he suggest either that a postponement of the message was his idea or that it was of vital importance.[54] In his letter to the Archbishop of Baltimore he had declared that "We have wished to have" the armistice before the message "goes to Congress this afternoon." But it was his understanding that things would not turn out that way. Nevertheless, and without any reference to the importance of a further delay in the delivery of the message to Congress, he believed that in spite of all war clouds, "we are going to have peace." But then, on April 8, although there *had been* a postponement of the message, he told O'Connell that he had little hope that war could be avoided. In that same letter to O'Connell he emphasized that Congress had the power to declare war without the President. This in turn points to the second fact of importance in recapitulating the role of

[53] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, May 11, 1898. Stephen Benton Elkins was the wealthy industrialist elected to the Senate in 1895 from West Virginia. He served, with two re-elections, until his death in 1911, and is remembered for his work in connection with the regulation of railroads. *D. A. B.* VI, 83-84.

[54] Cf. *supra.* Of course the delay occasioned by Lee's request from Havana for more time to evacuate United States citizens from Cuba may have been welcomed by McKinley as a further interval in which the Spaniards could make concessions. However, Ireland gives one nothing but his own belated assertion to evidence any influence on his part in securing the postponement of the message to Congress. For a dramatic report of the influence of Consul-General Lee's message upon the President as he was going over his message before the Cabinet, cf. Washington *Post,* April 7, 1898.

the archbishop in that week's activities: Day's cool and barely polite response to the Queen Regent's offer of April 5 was to the effect that the President would leave any further Spanish gestures to the consideration of Congress.[55] The conclusion seems to be inescapable. Archbishop Ireland overestimated his influence in the latter half of that critical week.

The letter to O'Connell of May 11 continues with strong criticism of the Vatican and more expressions of Manifest Destiny:

> The Vatican cannot understand our country, and, consequently, it cannot understand our actions. It is not recognized fully in Washington that I did wonderful work for peace, and that time alone failed me. And I did so much while walking on thin glass, for, I had meanwhile to save my own Americanism. I risked everything to serve the Vatican—Primis sibi Charitas—and I must keep far away from the Vatican.
>
> I have sent your cablegram to Dr. Rooker, telling him to act according to its injunctions, and to correspond with you. He is as good a diplomat as yourself because, I suppose, educated by you.
>
> Well, America is whipping poor Spain. I confess, my sympathies are largely with Spain; but the fact is, she is beaten. Now, Americanism will triumph, and practical application will be given to your pamphlet in Cuba and the Philippines. Cuba, at first independent will very quickly become American territory. Public opinion is growing in favor of retaining the Philippines. Our national pride is aroused, and we want to be a power in toto orbe terrarum. I am not much of an Anglo-Saxon: but, Anglo-Saxonism is to reign, and, if there is wisdom in the Vatican, it will at once seek influence with English-speaking countries, especially America. Unless this is done at once, humanly speaking the Church is doomed. The manifest destiny of the world is Americanism, as you explain the word.
>
> The provoking feature of this war is that preachers are making much out of the religion of Spain. It is inopportune to answer them directly, lest we be thought Spanish. But, at any rate, the harm must not be increased

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[55] In spite of Ireland's statement that he was "thoroughly informed right along of matters from the American standpoint," one cannot be absolutely sure that he knew about this offer transmitted by Woodward on April 5. However, the Vatican knew about it and about the reply which Woodford received. The American minister reported that he had taken the liberty of showing his dispatch, and Day's reply on behalf of the President, to the papal nuncio at Madrid for the latter's confidential information. Cf. again *United States Foreign Relations, 1898*, pp. 734-735.

by Rome appearing to be more European than American: More than ever should she favor America.

In the settlement of Church affairs in Cuba and the Philippines, Rome should yield gracefully to the separation of Church and State, and merely seek full liberty and the possession of her present temporalities. If the Cubans have their own way, there will be wholesale confiscation. America must be looked to as the protector of the possessions of the Church. The bishops in Cuba should be properly instructed in this matter.

The N. York jubilee was merely a money scheme: It made no impress whatever on the country.

A week later, in a long letter to Archbishop Keane,[56] Ireland announced that he was sending "a lot of documents." These were to be perused by Keane and O'Connell, he said, "and to be held otherwise as confidential." He promised that they would throw much light on his "Washington mission." They included, first, his entire correspondence with Rampolla and with Keane; second, "a copy of a recent letter from Dr. Rooker on the situation;" third, "a copy of a letter from Mr. Storer, giving the result of his interview with Gen. Woodford;" and, fourth, "a letter from Storer dated Washington, April 14." Unfortunately for the historian of this period, of all this announced documentary evidence we have in the O'Connell papers only the "copy of a recent letter from Dr. Rooker on the situation."[57] Even this is very likely not from the original package sent to Keane, but is more probably a second copy of the original letter to Ireland, a copy sent directly to O'Connell by Rooker himself. From this copy, and from the comments which Ireland sent along to Keane to explain the docu-

[56] RDA. John Ireland to John J. Keane, St. Paul, May 28, [1898].

[57] When Keane was on his way home to the United States in the summer of 1898, he wrote from Lyons to O'Connell: "After all, I was unable to leave the Ireland dispatches for you. My last day in Rome I somehow lost my bunch of keys, and among them was the key opening the drawer of my desk in which is the bundle of dispatches. Should you, however, go and ask Father Vacher, he probably might find some other key that would open my desk, and this letter will be his authorization to do so—And you will find the blue envelope of dispatches in the *middle drawer*." RDA. John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Lyons, July 30, [1898]. Evidently, O'Connell did not succeed in getting them; or, if they were ever in his possession, he lost them again. If John Ireland ever reclaimed them they may have gone into the fire with the rest of his correspondence. The archives of the Archdiocese of Dubuque give the researcher no clues to the disposition of this valuable collection.

ments, we have additional information on the subject of great interest to those anxious to refute the charge that the Vatican had cause for "indignation."

Rooker believed that O'Connell had simply heard the *chiacchiere* of underlings in the Vatican Secretariate of State:

> This being so, it is just what might be expected. Among those people you have enemies who are anxious to discredit you. They are paid for that purpose, and I have not a particle of doubt but that information was sent to this country right along of all that was going on. I doubt not either that some of the incidents which, while the work was in progress, happened to compromise that work and place obstacles in its way could be traced to such sources. If any serious mistake was made in the whole affair, it was the publication in Rome of your telegram of April 11th. That was published there on the 12th and sent immediately to this country; and it complicated matters very much. In fact, the more I have studied the matter, the more convinced I am that such publication was most unfortunate. It caused more ill-feeling here than we knew at the time. I have learned since that it was strongly resented by Congressmen, and that some very hard things were said. That you deceived Rome up to the last, as indicated in Marathon's [O'Connell's] telegram, is utterly false. If you will look over the correspondence, you will see that that telegram of April 11th was the last hopeful one you sent, and it was not till the 19th that the joint resolution passed. In the meantime—more than a week —you constantly advised the Card. Secy. that things were going badly, and that there was little or no hope. It is consequently false that you assured "pacem biduo ante bellum." Read your telegrams from the 14th to the 17th inclusive, and you will see how little you assured peace. You are right in saying that it is you who have reason to be indignant. I have just gone over the whole correspondence, and I confess my surprise that at the time I did not realize the tergiversation which took place on the other side between the 1st and the 9th of April. Nor did I realize at the time what appears clear now in reading the matter all over, that the intent at the start was to make this country back down as completely as possible. The demands of this country, and their possible reasonableness were put entirely aside, and it was all a question of saving the honor of Spain and her Sovereignty in Cuba. I thought at the time that the correspondence if published would redound to the honor of Rome. I am not so sure of that now.[58]

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[58] RDA. This is a typescript, with "Washington" and "Rooker" scrawled in pencil at the top and bottom respectively. It is undated.

To this stout defense Ireland added for Archbishop Keane's consideration a few words of praise of his own record in Washington, and some recriminations about "Rome and Madrid." Overlooking what might well be the essential point in the controversy, namely, that he had given the Vatican a false interpretation of the importance of the Spanish declaration of the armistice on April 9,[59] he insisted that "To say that I announced peace 'biduo ante bellum' is a calumny upon me." Not only did he have the "conscience of having worked well and prudently," he had at the same time maintained "the favor of Americans and foreigners in Washington." He was astonished at his own "ingenuity and 'habilité'." According to the French ambassador, he asserted, he had given to all *'la formule d'action.'* "And now to be misunderstood by those whom I was serving so loyally, and for whom I was risking my reputation as an American —it is dreadful." Needless to say, he blamed Rome[60] and, with more justice, Madrid, for the ill-timed publicity and misinterpretation of his early dispatches.

He always knew, he told Keane, that "Rome is too anxious to obtain prestige for political intervention." This, he recalled, had put him on his guard, but not sufficiently. He makes no admission that his own pursuit of prestige had been an element in the failure of his mission or that it was in any way responsible for his going to Washington. Yet, one cannot escape the impression that a reasonable explanation of the Vatican's mistakes in publicity lies in a willingness to go along with Ireland's over-sanguine attitude about the reception of the Pope's peace efforts here in America. In view of his "Americanist" position in ecclesiastical circles it would have been difficult for him to remind

[59] It was reported in Rome that Ireland, delighted by Spain's decision of April 9, had telegraphed that "peace is assured." Ferrara, *op. cit.*, p. 122. As late as April 16 the Vatican was urging the Spanish government not to "precipitate events" while admitting that the Holy Father's intervention, seconded by the great powers, "has not brought about the result he desired." *Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence,* pp. 125-126.

[60] "Rome should not have published in the *Osservatore* my telegram to the effect that Americans were grateful to the Pope. They were—but certain things cannot be said aloud in certain situations of men and things." RDA. John Ireland to John J. Keane, St. Paul, May 28, [1898]. One may ask, what considerable number of Americans, outside the Catholic group as such, were really anxious to have the Pope prevent war?

the Pope of the potential hostility of the Protestants to anything which looked like an acceptance of Rome's diplomatic pretensions. Certainly, John Ireland had misled them about Mr. Draper, who turned out to be a very unfriendly channel for explanations. Just as certainly he misled them as to the possible reception in this country of the armistice, which, had it really been so important, might have justified the publication in Rome of his dispatch that peace was assured. Rooker discovered that this created a bad impression when it became known in Congress. Now, in explaining the failure of the armistice to fulfill expectations, Ireland cited "Mr. Storer's Brussels letter." What that letter contained is not to be known, but Ireland's comments upon it include the remarkable statement that the President had only unofficial news of the armistice before the message went to Congress.[61] But it is clear from the published correspondence that the administration was aware of the Spanish offer on April 10, Easter Sunday. That was the day on which Woodford sent his "Personal No. 66," which was acknowledged by Assistant Secretary Day about six P. M. Day revealed that the Spanish minister had told him of the authority given to General Blanco to proclaim the armistice, and admitted that the State Department had been asked to indicate its nature and scope. But it was too late. Woodford was told that the President "must decline to make any further suggestions."[62] Of course, the administration may have deliberately concealed this from Ireland, perhaps to prevent his sending of compromising announcements to Rome. If so, it makes his "Peace is assured" message all the more absurd.

If bluster is to be understood here, as it is generally, to be the expedient of those with a poor case, then there is much to be seen in this letter to Keane, and in one of the same date to O'Connell, which does not reflect much credit upon the Archbishop of St. Paul. As Rome might now have less confidence in the Americanists, as Europe's courts and cabinets joined in dislike for America's humiliation of

[61] "When the President's message did go in—Easter Monday—he had no other knowledge of it except through me and the papers. Polo [the Spanish minister] did not get his communication to the President until Monday forenoon. The message left the White House at 11 A. M." RDA. John Ireland to John J. Keane, St. Paul, May 28, [1898].

[62] *United States Foreign Relations 1898*, p. 749.

Spain, and as Protestants in America tended to "make much out of the religion of Spain," it became all the more necessary to impress Rome with the dangerous implications of any identification of Catholicism and European interests. Thus Ireland was prompted to overstate the prospects of Manifest Destiny.

> The Philippines, as well as Cuba and Porto Rico, will be retained by America. Public opinion has decidedly set in toward that direction.
>
> America became through the Civil War a nation; it will become through the Spanish War an international power. Our whole condition changes. By the logic of events we must have colonies—make new laws to enable us to have colonies—keep a large army and a large navy. . . . Americanism is the coming power. Will the Vatican understand facts and act accordingly?[63]

It was really unnecessary to add: "I am keeping up my Americanism. Don't be afraid. That is my 'pièce de résistance,' and I will not let it go."

Monsignor O'Connell must have been quick to take up the idea. Living in what was probably an unfriendly Roman atmosphere,[64] he wrote back to Ireland what the latter praised as "a noble letter . . . so full of philosophy, and high statesmanship." He assured O'Connell that he had read it over several times, that he had sent the substance of it to Senator Elkins, "who approves every word," and that he wished "it were thrown into an article for the North American."

> I agree with you. The new America is upon us: it came unexpectedly—and yet it is but the evolution of our history. There is no need to argue in favor of the new America: it has come and it will remain.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The Anglo-American alliance displeases my heart—but not altogether my mind.
>
> I have in conversation and letter advocated the new policy: On some occasion I will publicly talk it up.
>
> My chief reason for agreeing with you is that the new America will open the eyes of Rome, as nothing else will or can. What's left to it but America? Rome must consult America. And as to what monarchs and moralists think of our war it matters little practically. The multitudes

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[63] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, May 28, 1898.

[64] For evidence of this, one may consult a letter of Archbishop Keane to Cardinal Gibbons, Rome, May 15, 1898. Baltimore Cathedral Archives, 96-H-1.

in all countries will be with us, and will adopt more and more our Americanism in State and Church.

. . . Providence overrules wars—and this war is Providence's opportunity to make a new world. And He is putting the opportunity to profit. So, let us go in for New America: I will preach the New Gospel.[65]

In conclusion, one cannot leave this phase of John Ireland's life without remarking upon the striking similarity between his reaction to the war and that of Henry Adams. Just as Ireland saw in the new America the notice to Europe that its monopoly of power was over, and worried lest Rome forget to take notice, so Henry Adams wrote to a friend in August, 1898: "The rapidity with which Europe has learned to be civil is a very remarkable case of the advantage of judicious education. For the present, and I think for the rest of my time, we are tolerably certain to have no more trouble on this side unless we seek it hard. To me, this has been the best result of the war, for it is not so long ago that I was rather convinced we might have to shake some of these countries rather roughly to teach them who we were. All that is over, thanks to our navy, and a mighty good thing too!"[66]

For Ireland, it remained to be seen how much effect the American Navy would have upon Rome.

*The Catholic University of America*

[65] RDA. John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, June 18, 1898. Ireland also agreed that his and O'Connell's destinies had "not been thrown together for nothing." His tribute was: "You have been in a hundred important circumstances my inspiration, my counsel, my strength. You have formed and guided my destiny." After this extravagant piece one is shocked to find, even though six years later, the same man writing to Mrs. Bellamy Storer: "As to O'Connell—I am not as we say in the States, 'particularly stuck' on him—nor over-confidential with him. But, he is there—and he gets into situations, where I must appear; and I have to be in relations with him—say 'diplomatic relations'." *In Memoriam Bellamy Storer*, p. 95.

[66] H. D. Carter (Ed.), *Henry Adams and His Friends: A Collection of His Unpublished Letters* (Boston, 1947), p. 445. For some striking similarities between Ireland's praises of Manifest Destiny and those of Josiah Strong, Alfred Thayer Mahan, and Theodore Roosevelt, cf. Ralph Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), pp. 339-356.

# MISCELLANY

## Old Catholic Newspapers in Some Eastern Catholic Libraries

It is now ten years since the late Thomas F. Meehan published his article, "Early Catholic Weeklies," in the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York [Volume XXVIII (1937), 237-255]. Research workers in American Catholic history have found that compilation very helpful in locating the files of old Catholic newspapers published in nineteenth-century America. Meehan, with the assistance of Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., then librarian of Georgetown University, covered the important newspaper holdings at Georgetown. He included as well the rather considerable list of Villanova College, and the books and pamphlets of an anti-Catholic variety which were in the library of the United States Catholic Historical Society in New York.

Knowing the usefulness of such lists of old Catholic newspapers, the managing editor of the REVIEW asked the librarians of the Catholic University of America, Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, St. Mary's Seminary, Roland Park, and Woodstock College if they would co-operate with him to furnish lists of their respective library holdings in this category. They all responded generously to his request and for the service rendered to research workers in this field thanks are due to Eugene P. Willging at Washington, Hugh J. Phillips at Emmitsburg, Jeremiah J. Brennan and John H. Harrington at Dunwoodie, Philip J. Blanc, S.S., at Roland Park, and Edmond F. X. Ivers, S.J., at Woodstock. In the case of the library of the Catholic University of America a number of Irish newspapers have been included which, although not specifically Catholic, yet carried a great deal of news of interest to the American church historian.

The largest single collection of Catholic newspapers is, of course, that of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, now housed at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary at Overbrook. This collection is now in order and the society expects to prepare a check list of its newspaper holdings shortly. When it has been published the REVIEW will call the attention of its readers to this fact as a check list of the Philadelphia collection will prove of inestimable help to research workers in American Catholic history, particularly to those working on projects in the period from 1885 to 1935. It is to be hoped that the check lists of the Libraries given here will prove of assistance to students and that from time to time the REVIEW may publish the holdings of other libraries in old Catholic newspapers. The symbol [ ] has been used to indicate incomplete volumes.

John Tracy Ellis

*The Catholic University of America*

## THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

*Aldine* (New York) IV (1872).
*An Caman* (Dublin) [II-III] (1933-1934).
*An Gaedheal* (Dublin) [I-IV] (1934-1937).
*Argonaut* (San Francisco) V (1879).
*Banner of the Cross* (Philadelphia) [IV] (1842).
*Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreichs* (Vienna) I-VII (1831-1837); IX-XIII (1839-1843); XV-LVII (1845-1887); LIX-LXXXIV (1889-1913).
*Catholic Advocate* (Louisville) I-IV (1836-1840); VI-XIII (1841-1849); N.S. I (1869/70).
*Catholic Herald and Visitor* (Philadelphia) VI-IX (1838-1841); X-XV (1842-1847).
*Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore) XV-XX (1864/65-1869/70); XXIII (1872/73); XXVII-XXXIV (1875/76-1882/83); XXXVIII-XLI (1886/87-1889/90); XLIV-XLIX (1892/93-1896/97).
*Catholic Review* (Baltimore) I-XXIII (1913-1936); N.S. I— (1936—).
*Catholic Times* (London) LXXX— (1939—).
*Catholic Times* (Philadelphia) I-II (1892-1893).
*Church News* (Washington) I-III (1886-1889); V-XIII (1890-1899).
*Citizen* (New York) I (1854).
*Emerald* (New York) II-III (1868-1869).
*Fainne an Lae* (Dublin) VII-VIII (1905-1906); [IX-X] (1907-1908); N.S. I (1913).
*Freeman's Journal* (New York) I-III (1840-1843); V (1844/45); VII (1846/47); XI-XII (1850-1852); XIV-XXI (1853-1861); XXIV-XXX (1863-1870); XXXII-XLIX (1871-1889).
*Gaelic American* (New York) VI (1909); [XL-XLI] (1943-1944).
*Gazette of the Union, Golden Rule and Oddfellows Family Companion* (New York) XII (1850).
*Guardian* (Louisville) I-IV (1858-1861).
*Harper's Weekly* (New York) I-II (1857-1859); XLII (1898).
*Herald* (London) I (1835).
*Irish Miscellany* (Boston) I-II (1858-1859).
*Irish News* (New York) I-X (1855-1861).
*Irish Pictorial* (O'Neill's) (Boston) I (1859).
*Irish Trade Journal* (Dublin) [I-VIII] (1925-1933); XI (1936).
*Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel* (Boston) I-II (1829-1831); IV-V (1833-1834).
*Katholische Volkszeitung* (Baltimore) IV-LIV (1863-1914).
*McGee's* (New York) I (1876-/77); III-V (1877-1879).
*Moniteur Universel* (Paris) I-XLVIII (1789-1813).
*Monitor* (San Francisco) LXXIX (1936/37).
*New Century* (Washington) XXI-XXII (1907-1908); XXIV (1910).
New York *Times* LXXXVIII— (1939—) (microfilm).
*Pilot* (Boston) I— (1838—) (microfilm).
*Review* (St. Louis) VI-VII (1899-1900).
*Sinn Fein* (Dublin) (weekly edition) I-IV (1906-1909); N.S. I-II, [III] IV-V (1911-1914).
*Tablet* (London) XXXVI-XXXVIII (1870-1871); XLII-LXIX (1873-1887); LXXI-CXLIV (1888-1924); CXLVI-CLXXX (1925-1942); CLXXX— (1942—).

*Truth Teller* (New York) I (1825); III, [IV-VI] (1827-1830); IX (1833).
*United Irishman* (Dublin) [XII-XV] (1904-1905).
*United States Catholic Intelligencer* (Boston) III (1831).
*United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston) II-V (1824-1825); XVII-XXII (1837-1843).

MOUNT SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE, EMMITSBURG, MARYLAND

*Catholic Herald* (Philadelphia) VI (1838).
*Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore) [I-IV] (1850-1853); V (1854); [VI] (1855); VII (1856); [VIII] (1857); IX (1858); [XI] (1860); XII (1861); [XIII] (1862).
*Catholic Press* (Hartford) I (1829/30); [II] (1830/31); [IV] (1832).
*Catholic Standard* (Philadelphia) I-XV (1866-1880); [XVI] (1881); XVII-XXVI (1882-1891).
*Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati) [V] (1835/36).
*Freeman's Journal* (New York) [XIII] (1853); XIV (1854); [XV-XXI] (1855-1861); XXII-XXIII (1861-1862).
*Tablet* (New York) IV (1843/44); VI (1845); XVI (1855).
*United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston) VI (1826/27); [VII] (1827/28); VIII (1828/29); [IX-XI] (1829-1832); XII-XIV (1832-1835); [XV-XXII] (1835-1842).
*Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati) (I-III (1837-1839).

ST. JOSEPH'S SEMINARY, YONKERS, NEW YORK

*Catholic American* (New York) I-II (1887).
*Catholic Herald* (New York) O.S. VII-IX (1839-1841); N.S. I-II (1892).
*Freeman's Journal* (New York) II-IV (1841-1844); VI-VIII (1845-1848); X (1849/50); XIV-XV (1853-1855); XXIII-XXXI (1862-1871); XXXIII-XXXVI (1873-1877); XXXVIII-XLVI (1877-1886).
*Illustrated Catholic American* (New York) II (1880).
*Metropolitan Record* (New York) I-II (1859-1860); [III] (1861); IV (1862).
*Tablet* (New York) XIV (1870/71).
*True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* (New Orleans) V-VI (1854-1856).
*Truth Teller* (New York) I (1825); IV-V (1828-1829).
*United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston) IX-X (1829-1831); XIII-XIV (1833-1835); XVI-XXV (1837-1845).
*Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati) XXXII-L (1868-1887); LI-LV (1887-1892); LVII-LXX (1893-1907).

ST. MARY'S SEMINARY, ROLAND PARK, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

*Catholic* (Kingston) I (1830/31).
*Catholic Herald* (Philadelphia) I-V (1833-1837); VII-XV (1839-1847).
*Catholic Intelligencer* (Boston) III (1831).
*Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore) I-XIX (1850-1868); XXI-XXXV (1870-1884); XXXVI O.S.-N.S. I-VI (1885-1891); XLIII-XLVIII (1892-1898); LIV-LXVIII (1903-1908).
*Catholic Observer* (New York) I (1836).
*Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati) I-II (1831-1832); XII-XIV (1843-1845).

*United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston) I-V (1822-1826); VIII-XII (1829-1833).

## WOODSTOCK COLLEGE, WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND

*Catholic Cabinet* (St. Louis) I-II (1843-1845).
*Catholic Herald* (Philadelphia) I-X (1833-1843); XIII-XIV (1846-1847); [XXV] (1857); XXVI (1858); several copies of some volumes.
*Catholic Register* (New York) [I] (1839); [II] (1840).
*Freeman's Journal* (New York) [I-II] (1841-1842); III-V (1843-1845); several copies of each volume.
*Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel* (Boston) I-II (1829-1830); IV (1832).
*National Catholic Register* (Philadelphia) I-IV (1844-1845).
*Metropolitan* (Baltimore) I-III (1853-1856).
*Pilot* (Boston) I (1838); III (1840).
*Pittsburgh Catholic* I-XIX (1844-1862).
*Truth Teller* (New York) I-XI (1825-1836); XVII-XVIII (1842-1843).
*United States Catholic Intelligencer* (Boston) III (1831/32).
*United States Catholic Miscellany* (Charleston) I-XVII (1822-1837); [XVIII] (1838).
*Weekly Register and Catholic Diary* (New York) I-II (1833-1834).

## BOOK REVIEWS

### GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

*The Origins of Christian Supernaturalism.* By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 239. $3.00.)

The present volume is a popularization of the material presented in 1929 by Professor Case in his *Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times.* He agrees with St. Paul that the Roman world was over-superstitious, but he believes that Christianity, far from discouraging superstition, contributed to a strengthening and rationalization of that tendency. The ancient world was haunted by the spirits of gods and heroes. They determined the destinies of war and peace by a day to day intervention. Men had little need of science or medicine when the gods were so ready to counsel and to heal. When Christianity entered this atmosphere, it found Jews and pagans employing a variety of means to solicit divine intervention. Christianity eventually triumphed over these rivals, not by an appeal to reason and to fact, but by outbidding them, by "alleging" more formidable miracles and more remarkable prophecies and apparitions. "Thus Christianity triumphed not by abolishing the yearning of the heathen for access to the supernatural but by intensifying and heightening the customary techniques for attaining this goal" (p. 120). Professor Case rejects all these claims to the supernatural. And he does this without once considering the historical evidence for them because he regards a "supernatural" occurrence as an antecedent impossibility. "Belief in apparitions is no longer general among educated people. Nowadays one is inclined to smile at ghost stories and to ridicule spiritism," he observes (p. 22) just after he has noted that "A belief in apparitions was fundamental to early Christianity. The appearances of Jesus after his death constituted the most distinctive supernatural credential of the new religion."

The author would have made things easier for his readers by stating his own personal creed at the beginning instead of at the end of the work. For on page 232 he evidently classifies himself with "the religious naturalists, whom their opponents are wont to call strict materialists but who stoutly repudiate the accusation." He is also aware *(ibid.)* that "to refuse to believe in the original form of Christian supernaturalism as represented by its early interpreters [the writers of the New Testament] would seem to place one outside of genuine Christianity." But Professor Case does not hesitate to place himself there.

The entire volume is a very clever exhibition of special pleading. The

basic assumptions are never argued: that a "supernatural" occurrence cannot possibly be a historical fact, and that the supernatural occurrences recorded in the New Testament were not facts but were only the necessary "technique" by which a magic-hungry world could be persuaded to accept Christianity. No blame is placed upon the New Testament writers for "advancing" these supernatural claims to their audiences. Without that "technique" they would have had no audiences. The method of the author is to present a lengthy description of pagan belief in apparitions, miracles, healing by prayer, etc., followed by a few examples of something parallel in Judaism, and then to hint, rather than to state, that anything similar in the Gospels or Acts was due to the literary imagination of the evangelist. There is no attempt to suggest that these innuendos need any explaining or demonstration. Chapter II on "The Value of Apparitions" devotes eighteen of its twenty pages to alleged Jewish and pagan apparitions. The last page contains all the demonstration that the author thinks necessary to show that the apparitions of Christ are of the same historical worthlessness:

> When Suetonius was a young man, an imposter who claimed to be Nero had appeared among the Parthians, and many people were quite ready to accept his pretensions.
>
> Christians could unhesitatingly accept the Neronic tradition, since they could set over against the heathen's faith the bolder and more triumphant hope of a reappearance of their own hero, the Lord Jesus Christ (p. 42).

The book is filled with similar exhibitions of historical induction. The result is that in bulk the book contains a gently ironic interpretation of popular paganism in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire. The pagan mentality is entertainingly imagined, with abundant references to the Greek and Roman classics. But about the origins of Christian supernaturalism there is nothing.

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## AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

*A Select Bibliography of the History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* By JOHN TRACY ELLIS, Associate P[illegible]essor of American Church History in the Catholic University of America (New York: Declan X. McMullen Co. 1947. Pp. vii, 96. $1.25.)

Father John Tracy Ellis has compiled this select bibliography, after having issued it in mimeograph form, in the expectation that, "allowing for the limitations which have been set on the bibliography, it may

serve as a convenient work-list by which teachers and students in universities, seminaries, colleges, and high schools may more readily make their way through the growing literature on the Catholic Church in the United States," for "to date there has been no place to which the student could turn for a general bibliography covering the whole field from the earliest missions of colonial days down to the twentieth century.... The compiler has tried to limit the descriptive and critical notes to those volumes which he felt were worthy of special commendation and, likewise, to those items wherein numerous errors and inaccuracies seemed to demand a warning to the unwary."

Even though monographs of various kinds contain good bibliographies in their own fields, a general bibliography of this kind has long been desired by students. The experience of Father Ellis in teaching American church history, and his interest in the matter, fit him for the selection of titles included in this bibliography and should give the assurance that the choice has been practical. Conceived merely as "a convenient work-list," the bibliography cannot be expected to be complete. Yet it may become the foundation for a future more nearly complete listing, if those engaged in the study of particular fields co-operate with the compiler by informing him of titles that might be included. In the meantime this "work-list" should be a convenient source of information for the students conducting research in the various fields of American church history.

As a beginning of suggestions, the present reviewer would like to see the Reynolds edition of Bishop England's works listed, together with the Messmer edition (*273*), because some authors refer to the former. Later editions of 98 and 129 could be cited. In *734*, "cf." evidently belongs to *737*. The inclusive years of *737* should be 1831-1917. It would seem that the new issues of the *Catholic University Bulletin* should be included in *740*. *Franciscan Studies* might be added to the periodicals. The English edition of the *Annales* (*735*) should be mentioned. Although it could not be expected in this listing, it would be a distinct advantage for the research worker if some student, possibly in a dissertation, would list all the articles bearing on American church history found in our own Catholic historical periodicals, and even more so if this would be done for the *Annales*, the *Berichte*, and the Munich *Annalen*.

The present reviewer feels that Dr. Ellis deserves unstinted praise for the courage he displayed in compiling this bibliography, even though he knew that it was not complete and comprehensive. Many a student will offer him a quiet meed of thanks for the helping hand he has extended.

THEODORE ROEMER

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*Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840.* Vol. IV. *The Methodists. A Collection of Source Materials.* By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 800. $10.00.)

Although an authority—one of very few in fact—on the general field of American religious history, Professor Sweet of the University of Chicago is mainly interested in the expansion and influence of frontier Protestantism. All his numerous publications on American religion either exploit frontier themes or exhibit the frontier as a central or synthesizing influence. In the early 1930's Professor Sweet published a documentary study on frontier Baptists, the first in his series, Religion on the American Frontier, in which later in the decade a volume each appeared on the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. The present study of the ubiquitous circuit-riding Methodists completes the series so far as the major Protestant groups on the frontier are concerned. It is to be hoped, however, that those minor Protestant bodies which made significant contributions to frontier thought and practice find a place in future volumes of the series.

In keeping with the scope and purpose of the series, *The Methodists,* consists largely of the letters and journals of circuit-riders and of the journals and records of ecclesiastical bodies, e.g., quarterly and annual conferences. The volume is not, however, merely a compilation of letters and church records. The book is prefaced by a four-chapter general introduction of sixty-eight pages which deals with early Wesleyan influence in America, the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist system, and Methodist growth and expansion to 1850. Besides an excellent classified bibliography, the volume is fortified in the footnotes with explanatory materials, notably biographical information.

Rightly, no doubt, the author considers the Methodist circuit-rider the central theme of the volume. The documents are selected, therefore, with a view to illustrating "the kind of man he was, the methods he used in accomplishing his purpose, and the influence he exerted in bringing the refining influence of religion to bear upon a rough, uncouth society." To the end of portraying the typical circuit-rider, the familiar giants of the sect such as Francis Asbury and Peter Cartwright are all but ignored and the journals and correspondence of more truly representative men, among them Edward Dromgoole and Bishop Richard Whatcoat, are given. The documents reproduced by the author serve to correct prevailing misconceptions which exaggerate, e.g., the use of the camp-meeting or the contempt of learning on the part of frontier Methodists. Although they seized upon the camp-meeting as a convenient means of a great end, Methodists did not originate the institution or accept it as an essential or official part of their system. The documents reveal that Methodist preachers while fearing that education would diminish religious enthusiasm and zeal were not opposed to

learning as such and were preoccupied, in fact with the problem of founding seminaries and colleges.

With almost classic exactness the book's contents embody the Turner thesis that on the frontier morality and culture underwent a process of degeneration. As a preacher on the Yadkin Circuit of North Carolina wrote: "The roads, in general, are exceeding bad—And the People, a few excepted, are rougher than the roads. . . ." It was one of the principal functions of religion to stamp out immorality and to polish the coarse manners of frontiersmen. The chapter, "Church Trials among the Methodists in the Early West," brings out the power of the church as a disciplinary institution. The extreme individualism which prevailed in the "New West"—the frontier of Sweet's study—did encourage drunkenness and other monstrous evils. But the thesis is less valid for the prairie and plains West and of no validity for the Mormon frontier of Utah where social cohesion replaced individualism, and, except for polygamy, established an unusually high standard of morality. For the frontier it treats, however, Professor Sweet's volume is scholarly and quite convincing, exhibiting the circuit-rider not only as a man of God but also as a man of affairs interested in business, land speculation, education, and community beginnings.

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## GENERAL HISTORY

*A History of Philosophy.* Volume I. *Greece and Rome.* By FREDERICK COPLESTON, S.J. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Bookshop. 1946. Pp. x, 521. $4.00.)

Father Copleston, the author of a valuable study of Nietzsche's philosophy and of another on Schopenhauer, presents in this volume a comprehensive survey of ancient philosophy. His book is divided into five sections, treating the following subjects: pre-Socratic philosophy; the Socratic period; Plato; Aristotle; and post-Aristotelian philosophy. In each of these sections he discusses the matter at hand in a fresh and interesting as well as in an accurate and authoritative manner.

There is necessarily a more lengthy consideration of Plato and Aristotle than of any of the other thinkers in this work. Plato receives 136 pages of the text, and his thought, especially the great problem of the doctrine of forms, is exposed in a thorough and understanding fashion. Father Copleston concludes his discussion of Plato with the words:

> Plato, who stands at the head of European philosophy, left us no rounded system. That we do not possess his lectures and a complete record of his teaching in the Academy, we naturally regret, for we would like to know

> the solution of many problems that have puzzled commentators ever since; but, on the other hand, we may in a real sense be thankful that no cut-and-dried Platonic system (if ever there was such) has come down to us, a system to be swallowed whole or rejected, for this fact has enabled us to find in him, more easily perhaps than might otherwise be the case, a supreme example of the philosophic spirit. If he has not left us a complete system, Plato has indeed left us the example of a way of philosophising and the example of a life devoted to the pursuit of the true and the good.

The treatment of Aristotle is somewhat shorter but equally competent and illuminating. The student who will use Father Copleston's work carefully, and who will at the same time turn to the text of Plato and Aristotle, to the fragments of the earlier thinkers, and to the writings of the post-Aristotelian philosophers, will acquire no small part of a sound education. Particularly for students who belong to the great tradition of Catholic thought it is important to acquire, in the hands of a competent and inspiring guide, this first-hand acquaintance with the thought of Greece and Rome.

A short introductory chapter has some good and needed things to say on the nature of the history of philosophy and on why and how it should be studied. Criticism of Father Copleston's volume must be largely with regard to details. The style could be tightened up in places. Many words are needlessly or wrongly italicized. A number of typographical errors have been noted (cf. pp. vii, viii, 65, and 134), which can be eliminated in future printings. This work is highly recommended. No library should be without it. Students will do well to acquire it for themselves, or at least to have ready access to it.

JOHN K. RYAN

*The Catholic University of America*

*Struggle for Freedom.* By STERLING E. EDMUNDS. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1947. Pp. xiii, 309. $4.50.)

This work gives one a fairly extensive account of the development of Anglo-Saxon liberties from the time preceding the Norman invasion of England to the present time. Dr. Edmunds seeks to establish the thesis that we have lost some of these liberties in this country and are in danger of losing others through social and economic legislation. The work is posthumously published from manuscripts which Dr. Edmunds had prepared; and it contains a preface by the Reverend Joseph Husslein, S.J., and a foreword by John Bassett Moore.

After reading the book one puts it aside with certain feelings of sympathy and sorrow. Dr. Edmunds was without question an able person, eminently successful as a teacher of law at St. Louis University; but like many others he was caught in the toils of his profession. His ultra-static con-

ception of the nature of positive law made him fearful of all legislative innovations. The growth of this country, the problems brought on by its rapid industrialization, the increasing accumulation of wealth and economic power in fewer hands, and the mighty struggle of labor for recognition of the worth and dignity of the worker—all of these developments make no impression upon him. He seems not to realize that the forces of property that he upholds were the authors, from time to time, of the kind of legislation which he defends. The loss of our liberties, it would seem, begins with the Interstate Commerce Act in the 1880's; and the movement goes on apace through all those regulatory measures which were enacted to hold a wild economic system in check.

Whose liberties were lost? That is not clear. What underlying force and situation were at work to make this type of legislation inevitable? These matters are not considered at all, or at the most very inadequately. His lack of understanding of the social history of America is little less than astounding. Even in his interpretation of English social history there is somewhat more than a trace of belief in a specially infused wisdom of a people known as the Anglo-Saxons. Many of us had thought that this myth had gone out sometime in the middle of the last century.

There is not lacking the idea of conspiracy—conspiracy by politicians in Washington, of course. So we read that "the politicians in Washington were increasingly dissatisfied with the barriers that restrained their access to it (wealth); and in 1894 they determined to do something about it." What did these villains do? They passed the income tax law. No one else seems to have been behind it. No growing dissatisfaction among the great middle class seems to have had anything to do with it. What did the income tax do? It was a deprivation "of property without due process of law" and "a denial of equal protection of the laws." In any case, that act gave scheming politicians more money than they knew what to do with, so they legislated to spend it. Then followed legislation taxing and regulating corporations, the establishing of the Department of Labor, the setting up of a Children's Bureau in the same department, a host of administrative commissions, and all kinds of nefarious devices to rob the people of their liberties. Administrative commissions form the very last of a series of tyrannical governmental trends. Now there is a problem in the rule of administrative commissions, but Dr. Edmunds does not see any problem at all. The commissions should be abolished—as simple as that!

In addition, we find, according to this work, that until the Franklin Roosevelt administration "there had never been a contest for dominant power as between Congress and the Executive." Previously, it would seem, the struggle had been between the states and the federal government. Had not the author heard of the administrations of Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Wilson? Had he never

heard of the terms czar, king, autocrat, dictator being applied to these presidents? If he had heard, with what situations did he associate the terms?

It has frequently been said that America is not over-productive in intelligent conservative leaders. If this book has any merit it is in the fact that herein is a sample of what conservatism frequently becomes—blind, unrealistic, emotional reaction.

JEROME G. KERWIN

*University of Chicago*

*A History of American Philosophy*. By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 646. $4.50.)

"A brilliant contribution to the history of American culture—our literature, social theory, political theory and religion," reads the jacket on this work of Herbert W. Schneider, professor of philosophy at Columbia University. It is certainly true to say that this book provides not only a philosophical experience, but even an American experience, since it is not a simple history of philosophy as such in the United States, but more a combination of philosophy, theology, literature, and general culture—of *certain* aspects of thought in America. It is *almost* an analysis of the formation of the American mind. Such qualifications, however, are necessary because certain other and important aspects and formative elements are entirely overlooked.

Starting with the New England Puritans, whom he finds to be *de facto* more genuinely philosophical than biblical, Professor Schneider traces philosophy in America through the Enlightenment of Revolutionary days, the political philosophies of the early nineteenth century, the "weary waste of textbooks" in mental philosophy and faculty psychology of Civil War years, the struggles and factions of the Darwinians and anti-Darwinians, to reach at last the American versions of German idealism and the more current pragmatism of William James and John Dewey. One might venture to say that a certain pattern emerges from the picture—though the book lacks a needed chapter of over-all analysis. In the early days of this country philosophy was not something separate but was rather an integral element in the chief theological, political, and economic systems of thought; to recapture, therefore, the intellectual life of early America, particularly of the Revolutionary era, one must turn, not to textbooks or systems, but to state documents, political platforms, presses, and pulpits. It was only with the nineteenth century that there emerged that species of educator known as the professor of philosophy, with the corresponding relegation of philosophy to the schoolrooms of colleges and seminaries. "Philosophy lost its living connections with the general

culture of the American people and became a technical discipline in academic curricula," (p. 225) particularly after the 1820's when Scottish philosophy invaded the country. Later yet, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, "philosophy" became a special and independent branch of study—an importation from Germany; and as a result American *systems* of philosophy began to be produced. The "mental philosophy" of the mid-1800's now broke up into "mental science" or psychology, which has continued down to the present, and a residue of speculative thought, which received new impetus from German idealism. That the book ends with Dewey's theory of the relation of philosophy and society and the need of integrating once more philosophy and life, is, perhaps, rather indicative of the author's own approach.

Professor Schneider does not essay any study of the chief contemporary systems current in America, leaving them for future historians. In his preface, however, he does turn prophet and attempts to discern the developments of the future. To his mind, there are three outstanding sources or influences of contemporary American thought: Cambridge, with the type of philosophical analysis propounded by Whitehead and Russell; "the sophisticated, modernized versions of Catholic scholasticism that have come to us from Paris;" and thirdly, the schools that directly or indirectly have come to America from Vienna. The result of these three pervasive forces in American culture leads him to conclude that a decidedly new chapter of American philosophy is being written (p. viii).

Apart from this enigmatic remark, scholasticism receives no treatment at the hands of the author. While he does not hesitate to treat of the philosophical ideas of Proestant divines, he has no place for "Catholic scholasticism" of the past fifty years or more. Evidently, he does not consider it to have been a participant in American philosophical circles. This does not mean, however, that Schneider's work has no appeal or interest for scholastic philosophers. There is need, as has been pointed out repeatedly, for some attempt on our part to effect a rapprochement with non-scholastics; at least, for more sympathy with and appreciation of modern culture and philosophy. The words of James Collins are worth meditation: "Unless Catholic thinkers in America approach the history of modern and contemporary philosophy with genuine (and not merely factual) seriousness, they will not be taken seriously by representative American thinkers and will continue to be ineffectual in determining the content and direction of our common outlook." [*Thought*, XVIII (September, 1943), 479].

IGNATIUS BRADY

*Duns Scotus College*

*Nationalism and Internationalism.* By Don Luigi Sturzo. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1946. Pp. viii, 308. $3.50.)

This book is both less and more than the sort of thesis its title would lead one to expect. On the theoretical side it is neither very systematic nor very profound, not at all the sort of thing an American Ph.D. would have aimed at. The fact can be recorded without regret, but it calls for a caution: the present work is not by itself an adequate statement of the author's fundamental position as a Catholic. It needs supplementing, in that respect, by his earlier writings. Even so, the standpoint is that of one whom the wrapper calls "the leading voice of the most liberal wing of the Catholic social thinking, frank in its criticism of the past policies and practices of Church leaders in the social sphere, bold in its appeal for a greater liberalism." It is that; and there are many matters of both practice and principle on which a different school of Catholic thought would take issue.

What we really have here are the reflections of a veteran, now in his late seventies, on both the theories and the policies that have characterized an era of history which is now, for better or worse, ended. The best things in the book are the most personal; and among them chapters two to four are the most important. In these pages Don Sturzo gives us his own account of the rise of the Populist and Christian Democratic parties in Europe, particularly in Italy, and his own valuations of many of the leading figures of the time. This is followed by a discussion of the present status of trade unions and labor momevents in both Europe and America, which, perhaps, gains in breadth what it lacks in depth. The ensuing chapters on modern war and imperialism contain interesting paragraphs on the attitude of Catholics to the League of Nations, and on the position and duty of Catholics in nations at war. Recognizing that the nation then comes to rank ahead of morality, Don Sturzo declares that "private opposition, even if it be in the name of the Church, would give the appearance of a faction actively opposed to the war and would lead to the very disintegration of the national State." Confusion over this issue arises, he tells us, because the critic "does not comprehend that the character and direct purpose of Christianity is that of being a personal religion, adapted to all times and all persons, under all regimes and in all climates, for all races and conditions. It has the potentiality of transcending every earthly situation by elevating it to higher ends." Christian morality, or even natural morality, can be made effective only through a superior international "organism" armed with adequate power. This position leads the author to an astute analysis, in purely secular terms, of the post-war international crisis, in which he severely censures American "appeasers" of Russia; but he nonetheless places his hope of a working internationalism in the United Nations Charter, with some modification

of the veto power. To back it up, says Don Sturzo in his final sentence, "a new collective consciousness must be forged;" but he does not clearly tell us by what means, or to what ends.

It is regrettable that the book is marked by frequent lapses of English, some of which leave the meaning quite obscure, and by many signs of inadequate proof-reading. An index should have been provided. But what the reader desires most, as he looks back over this lively and gallant record, is a good biography, or autobiography, of the author.

WILLIAM AYLOTT ORTON

*Smith College*

## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*A Character of the Trimmer: Being a Short Life of the First Marquis of Halifax.* By H. C. FOXCROFT. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. Pp. x, 354. $4.00.)

This "short life" of the political genius who made such a lasting contribution to the English constitution is a condensation with corrections of the earlier work by the same author, the *Life and Works of the First Marquis of Halifax,* which appeared in 1897. Miss Foxcroft has changed her mind about a few things and acknowledges the contributions of other scholars who have turned up new evidence, much of the latter simply confirmatory of her own earlier judgments. The most notable variation in the present work is the milder criticism of the "trimming" engaged in by her subject after the revolution of 1689. Except for the modification of extreme Whiggism involved in this bit of charity, the author persists in a general Macaulay-like view of men and events of the reigns of Charles II and James II. In regard to foreign policy she has reinforced her approval of Halifax by invoking parallels with the experience of the twentieth century—a didactic quality which is applauded by the publishers on the book jacket.

Inasmuch as religious doctrine serves to classify the majority of politicians in seventeenth-century England, it is of the utmost importance to estimate with care the outlook of this unusual mentality to which contemporaries ascribed a tendency toward atheism. Success in any such evaluation requires more than a mustering of tributes such as Burnet can furnish, just as it requires that a biographer measure the beliefs of other times by something besides the *minima* which pass in academic circles in the twentieth century. Miss Foxcroft balances the assertion that Halifax was not irreligious by the admission that he verged on Unitarianism. The real truth is that he admitted that politics made his conscience, rather than allowing that conscience could influence his politics; and a few revelations along such lines constituted sufficient grounds for the

charge of atheism in the seventeenth century. Therefore, his consistent opposition to "Popery" was frankly political. In 1679 he wrote his brother that he hoped they should "join in justifying our usurpation against the Benedictines, and, how little zealous soever we may be in other respects, we may be relied upon, from our tenure, to be most unmovable Protestants" (p. 81). Others might have been ashamed to admit this, as they might have refrained from telling their chaplains to be content to play the fool and not, as Halifax warned William Mompesson, "let the world know whose fool he was" (p. 19). Halifax had only enough religion to satisfy a non-religious age. What really put him so much ahead of his own time was his disposition to make a thoroughly practical use of religion in politics, and his complete detachment from doctrinal interests enabled him to contrive the notion of a balanced and objective set of laws by which property could be secured and faction neutralized. Thus it was his practice to invoke impartially the limitations of established law when cautioning monarchs and the expediency of moderation when leading debates in the House of Lords. The fate of his great-uncle, the Earl of Strafford, as well as his own travels in a youth of exile, persuaded him against a policy of Thorough in any quarter. Miss Foxcroft is so partial to the cause against *jure divino* that she, like Macaulay, cannot appreciate the degree to which Whigs as well as Tories resisted such moderation.

The present work in no way supersedes the earlier two-volume *Life*, but it serves the purpose intended. It provides us with a less ponderous approach to the personality and career of a great Englishman.

JOHN T. FARRELL

*The Catholic University of America*

*Alexander I of Russia: The Man Who Defeated Napoleon.* By LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1947. Pp. 302. $3.50.)

This is a book which would never be popular, at least in official circles, in atheist Russia. It depicts Alexander as a deeply religious man, profoundly concerned with the problems of sin and salvation, who, if he did not always live according to his convicitions of right and wrong, at least did penance, and that in rather the grand style, if we accept Dr. Strakhovsky's interpretation of the mysterious Fyodor Kuzmich.

The work opens with a vivid description of the murder of Emperor Paul I, in the early morning hours of March 24, 1801. The crime was committed by a band of conspirators led by Count Pahlen, Military Governor of St. Petersburg, and the one man in all Russia trusted by His Majesty. The success of the plot depended on the at least "passive" participation of the Grand Duke Alexander; it was this acquiescence in the murder of his father that weighed so heavily on the conscience of Alex-

ander for the rest of his life, and had much to do with his oft-expressed desire to be rid of the trappings of royalty and to live the life of an ordinary citizen. There follows a brief account of the new emperor's early "liberalism," and of his well-intended plans for the betterment of the lot of the Russian people, plans that were frustrated by the intrigues of court circles, as well as by Alexander's own absorption in what is the main theme of the book, his duel with Napoleon.

The rivalry between the two emperors, on the battlefield as well as in the conference room, is dramatically portrayed. The story of that rivalry is well known; what Dr. Strahkovsky brings to it is vivid "eye-witness" description and telling detail. It was in the field of diplomacy, as practiced by statesmen of that age no less than of our own (the relationship between diplomacy and duplicity seems more than casual), that Alexander found his *forte*. Patient, far-seeing, he knew when to wait, how to dissemble, where to find Napoleon's weak spot. It was this which was the Russian's major contribution to the downfall of Napoleon, this which won for him among his own people (and in the minds of many foreigners) the title of "Alexander the Blessed."

From the Congress of Vienna Dr. Strahkovsky hurries on, as it were, to reach the most intriguing part of his subject. He builds up an impressive, though negative, mass of evidence to establish that Alexander did not die at Taganrog on the shores of the Azov Sea on December 1, 1825; that the impressive funeral services were held, not over the body of the emperor, but over that of the imperial courier Markov, who had been accidentally killed near the emperor's vacation place at a moment most convenient for his plans; that Alexander himself lived until 1864, chiefly in Siberia, as a widely venerated hermit known as Fyodor Kuzmich. The case for the identity of the mysterious Kuzmich and Alexander is well constructed; with great confidence Dr. Strahkovsky appeals to the future opening of the papers of the Earl of Cathcart, formerly British ambassador in St. Petersburg, in whose yacht Alexander is believed to have made his escape after his "death," to have gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and then to have returned to his native Russia to spend the last years of his life in prayer and penance.

As this is the first important biography of Alexander in English, it is to be hoped that Dr. Strahkovsky may have the opportunity to enlarge upon it, to develop properly matters here glossed over or omitted, such as the Russian emperor's role at the Congress of Vienna, and his involvement in the Greek troubles of 1820-1821. Until then the present work will appeal to the historian (who will find the extensive bibliography valuable), and to the devotee of the historical novel; both will enjoy the numerous reproductions of contemporary paintings and engravings.

*Seton Hall College* JOSEPH H. BRADY

AMERICAN HISTORY

*Lost Men of American History.* By STEWART H. HOLBROOK. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. xiv, 370. $3.50.)

Non-conformists to the commonly accepted norms of an existing social order almost invariably offer a near irresistible fascination for more "average" members of the human family. Frequently, though also unfortunately, this fascination is equally manifest whether the non-conformist is an exemplar of the highest spiritual values with the zeal of a Francis of Assisi or whether he is a veritable charlatan and mountebank with standards of integrity and objective reality rivaling those of a Rasputin.

Mr. Holbrook has brought together in this volume a group of characters in American history who have at least one thing in common—they differed radically from their contemporaries. The non-conformity of some was coupled with genius of a kind; of such caliber were Samuel Adams, "The Great Agitator," and Samuel Colt who delivered "moral lectures of a scientific nature" in his demonstrations of laughing gas and then invented his renowned revolver together with an assembly line method of production. Vivid pen sketches of men like Frederick Tudor who first brought ice from the frozen lakes of New England to the Port of St. Pierre on Martinique, Henry Miller Shreve who opened the Mississippi to steamboating with the aid of his mighty "snag boats," Hinton Rowan Helper whose *Impending Crisis* had influence far greater than Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the anti-slavery agitation of the day, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft who gave many a musical Indian-Latin name to lakes and streams in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—pen sketches of these and many others make this volume a brilliant panorama of lesser known American characters.

The volume is written in a popular style; no effort is made to identify sources of information with the event in the telling, but an excellent bibliography and list of acknowledgements to individuals and libraries make up, to some extent, for this omission. The human drama of the various episodes brought before the reader occasionally lures the author into unguarded superlatives. *Marbury v. Madison* is cited to show that "no legislative act, either of a state or of Congress, was a law if such act was contrary to the Constitution of the United States" (p. 105). The first clear case that established the authority of the Supreme Court to declare a state law void was *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810). More serious exaggerations occur in connection with moral and religious problems. Speaking of gravestones in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Mr. Holbrook states "all symbols of Christian theology disappear. . . . Americans had ceased to be obsessed either with death or the hereafter" (p. 77).

When the author recounts deeds of non-conformists who verged on the eccentric in their monomania he becomes even more careless of his

superlatives. One example may suffice. Mary Baker Eddy is stated to be "by all means the most dynamic American of her sex down to the present" (p. 254).

The effort to preserve chronology has led the author to introduce many characters that can hardly be called "lost men." Moses and Stephen F. Austin and Dorothea Lynde Dix have not been exactly ignored by the historians; that Margaret Sanger should be referred to as a woman of "great courage and excellent judgment" can only be accounted for by grimly stretching the meaning of the words "lost men." In a brief introduction to this work Allan Nevins remarks that Mr. Holbrook has endeavored to note "the striking figure who has somehow missed fame, and the memorable occurrence which has somehow escaped memory." With some few exceptions the author has succeeded in his endeavor.

JOSEPH G. DWYER

*College of Mount Saint Vincent*

*Kosciuszko—Leader and Exile.* By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. 1946. Pp. viii, 183. $3.00.)

"This is the second and the last part of a biography of Kosciuszko, the first part of which has been published under the title *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution* by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America in 1943. The present volume is intended to mark and to honor the bicentennial of Kosciuszko's birth in 1746."

In fulfilling the purpose to which he has dedicated this little study Mr. Haiman, moved apparently by both conviction and sympathy, has cast his work in laudatory form, for it is highly eulogistic of its subject. For the most part it escapes being cloying, and to the American who knows little more of Kosciuszko than that he entered the Revolutionary army in 1776 as a colonel of engineers and remained to the close of the war, the expressions of praise and the testimonials of high esteem for Kosciuszko gathered by Mr. Haiman from the press of many nations will seem both proper and just. The reader of this volume, however, is more likely to be the historian or specialist in Polish affairs, as its character as a fractional study of Kosciuszko's life and its conservative format will not attract the seekers of best sellers. The reader who comes to it with a broad knowledge of both European and American events and personalities during the four decades following our revolution will find the interest which this volume holds for the less informed reader immeasurably increased.

Mr. Haiman lets the record speak for itself. Rarely if ever does he inject his own estimate of Kosciuszko. Of course, there is no missing his friendly and sympathetic treatment of the subject; but at times enough of some of

the weaknesses of Kosciuszko insinuates itself into the account to lead one to wish that the author had chosen such points as opportunities to present his own critical opinion of the Polish leader. There was obviously too much purity of motive, too much nobility of heart and mind, in Kosciuszko for even his most devoted admirers to fear the findings of a more critical approach to the study of his life than Mr. Haiman has used. Instead, he has honored Kosciuszko by revealing to the reader the esteem and affection shown for Kosciuszko by so many great men of his own day.

A most interesting section of the appendix contains the Jefferson and Kosciuszko correspondence from 1798 until the latter's death in 1817. It includes forty-one letters in French and English, which afford excellent insights into Kosciuszko's mind and heart and, incidentally, reflect no little honor on Jefferson himself. The volume likewise contains an exhaustive bibliography, and is complete with iconographic notes on the portraits and watercolor sketches, mostly Kosciuszko's own, which are reproduced throughout the work. They give finish to a volume to which Mr. Haiman has given quiet dignity and worth.

J. ROBERT LANE

*Saint Mary's College*
*Winona*

*Letters and Papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson, 1753-1785.* Edited by CARL VAN DOREN. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1947. Pp. ix, 222. $3.50.)

At a public sale in London in 1945 the American Philosophical Society acquired some letters and papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson. Edited by Carl Van Doren they constitute the bulk of Volume 24 of the Memoirs of the Society. Sixty papers, mostly letters, and chiefly the contribution of Franklin, each with editorial comment, are included in this book, and there are twelve illustrations.

Richard Jackson was a gentleman of fortune and leisure in Norfolk, who, in the words of Samuel Johnson was "all-knowing," and in the opinion of Charles Lamb possessed of "more multifarious knowledge than any man of his time." In a thirty-page introduction Van Doren gives us a biographical sketch and an appreciation of this extraordinary individual. At first Jackson's interest was chiefly in husbandry; in time it extended to politics, especially to American affairs, and it grew to be such as to elicit the encomium of Franklin. As agent for Connecticut, and later for Pennsylvania, and a member of Parliament, Jackson had high connections. In general his regard for the British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard took the form of endeavoring to check British excesses in colonial regulation and legislation.

Under the circumstances it was natural that Jackson should make the acquaintance of Franklin, and in view of their similarity of outlook that a friendship should develop. Their relationship, which survived the Revolution, was fostered by an exchange of views and discussion of topics of personal or general interest. In this interchange Franklin, among other subjects, touched on paper money, elections, western settlements, American ores, Indians and Indian warfare, frontier attacks on Indians, British taxation, and political unrest in Pennsylvania, while Jackson dwelt on finance, the connection between manners and prosperity, elections to Parliament, land grants, errors current in England in regard to America, and proprietary vs. crown government. In addition Jackson proffered his legal opinion on sundry matters. Among the gems of wisdom from the pen of Franklin we would cite his shrewd observation in March, 1764: "I wish some good Angel would forever whisper in the Ears of your great Men, that Dominion is founded in Opinion, and that if you wish to preserve your Authority among us, you must preserve the Opinion we us'd to have of your Justice" (p. 145).

CHARLES H. METZGER

*West Baden College*

*Alexander Hamilton.* By NATHAN SCHACHNER. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. 1946. Pp. vi, 488. $4.00.)

Some thirty years ago in the Cosmos Club in Washington, a small group of historians were gathered about Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton, whose book, *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton,* had been published not a great while before, and, naturally, the discussion centered about Alexander Hamilton. At one point Dr. Gaillard Hunt spoke up to say, "We ought to have, from the pen of Dr. Hamilton, a study on the mind of Hamilton." The idea seemed to appeal to Dr. Hamilton, but if he ever seriously contemplated undertaking such a study, he never produced it. (He died in 1919).

The desideratum voiced by Dr. Hunt—an exposition and interpretation by a competent hand of a mind that had made an indelible impress on our national structure and history, precocious to a degree that has not ceased to be a marvel, brilliant beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals, yet full of strange contradictions, a life of dazzling successes, of equally startling failures—is still a study much to be desired. The interpretive genius to match the genius of the subject has not yet arisen. Numerous biographies of Hamilton have been written, but no biographer seems to have been able adequately to exhibit the man in all the manifold facets of his mind and character. "There were giants in those days," and Hamilton soon became and has remained one of the legendary giants.

Mr. Schachner has not undertaken to supply the desideratum of Dr. Hunt, though he clearly recognizes it. Indeed, he would shoo off any and all that flock of cuckoo psychoanalysts from the undertaking. Respecting the thesis that "Hamilton's career, his bold assertiveness, his will to power, his genius, were in effect the product of a pathological compensation for the irregularity of his birth," he posits this judgment: "Whatever may be the value of psychoanalysis in the hands of competent practitioners with patients under immediate observation and control, it is obviously a dangerous instrument in the hands of lay biographers for probing the minds and motives of men long dead and of whom we have at best incomplete sources of information." To which this reviewer would respond, amen and amen!

What Mr. Schachner has undertaken to do is to furnish much of the basis for a profound study of that remarkable mind, with all its complexities and cross purposes; for he has thrown upon the screen a meticulously factual picture of Hamilton's life, of a short fifty-seven years, from its obscure beginning in the West Indies to its tragic ending on the heights of Weehauken. In doing so Mr. Schachner has not only made a more liberal use than has hitherto been done of known materials, but he has also drawn upon much new material to the great enrichment of his story. Whether of purpose or not, he has followed the precept laid down by Shakespeare (via Othello), "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice."

And having sought to present a balanced record of Hamilton's career, he has been content, for the most part, to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. It is not that Mr. Schachner has altogether shunned an expression of opinion. Indeed, at times, even in a plain narrative of facts, he has scarcely been able to escape voicing a judgment on the facts. Particularly is this true in the chapters dealing with Hamilton's later career, which abounded in controversies; as, for instance, in the feud with John Adams and in the quarrel with Aaron Burr. Upon the whole, Mr. Schachner has drawn Hamilton from out of the legendary mists to within the actual range of vision of the wayfaring man; in short, humanized him, and that without any purpose or device of muckracking. The reader of this story will doubtless know his Hamilton as he has not known him before.

And now for the fly in the amber. You can not keep all the flies out of the amber in bookmaking, any more than you can keep them out of the apple butter in fly time. In Chapter IX the author has confused two distinct episodes: the proposed election of a secretary to the embassy in France in December, 1779, and that of an envoy extraordinary to the court of Versailles in December, 1780 (p. 121). Accordingly, in citing certain letters (notes 5 and 6 to Chapter IX, p. 445), the statement that these letters were "misdated 1779 in text" and should properly be dated

1780, is itself an error, as an examination of the *Journals of Congress* will clearly show. Incidentally, by a typographical error, the citation to the *Letter of Members of the Continental Congress* is to Volume II instead of Volume IV.

Another but smaller speck: Mr. Schachner can scarcely be blamed for referring to Thomas FitzSimons as "Fitzsimmons," when even the *Journals of Congress* so record him; but it can scarcely be other than a shock to the spirit of that worthy statesman, one of the two Catholic signers to the Constitution, to be identified in the index as "James." Really, the index is woefully inadequate. But in this instance the "guilty finger" should no doubt be pointed at the publishers.

EDMUND C. BURNETT

*Washington, D. C.*

*Edward Kavanagh, Catholic, Statesman, Diplomat from Maine, 1795-1844.* By WILLIAM LEO LUCEY, S.J., Chairman, Department of History and Political Science, College of the Holy Cross. (Francetown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Co. 1946. Pp. viii, 270. $3.50.)

Edward Kavanagh was born at Newcastle, Maine, on April 27, 1795. His father, James, emigrated from Ireland in 1780, settled finally at Newcastle, and became a successful merchant and ship owner. Although the author does not make it clear, young Kavanagh was guided in his educational activities for years by Fathers Cheverus and Matignon, who hoped that he would become a priest and enter the service of the Diocese of Boston. He received tonsure at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore on April 24, 1813. The War of 1812 prevented his return to the seminary and he continued his studies during the winter of 1813 in Boston under the tutelage of Father Matignon. His career as a seminarian came to an end in the spring of 1814. Kavanagh's father was in financial difficulties and the young man was asked to return to Newcastle to assist in carrying on the business. Soon after he made a business trip to Europe. On his return he settled at Newcastle to study and practise law.

During this period, Maine became a state and complete religious liberty was granted to Catholics. There is some mystery as to the authorship of a memorial presented to the constitutional convention in behalf of Catholics. Father Lucey is inclined to believe that it was written by Kavanagh, but there is equally good evidence to show that it was composed by Bishop Cheverus and later was recopied and forwarded to the convention by Kavanagh.

The legal profession opened the gateway to politics and diplomacy. After holding local and state offices, Kavanagh served as a representative to Congress for two terms. He was defeated for re-election in 1835 and was

rewarded for his services to the Jacksonian cause by being appointed chargé d'affaires at Lisbon. Portugal at this time was torn by revolutions and was dominated to a large extent in its policies by Great Britain. But Kavanagh did succeed in obtaining the payment of certain long-standing claims for damages and in securing a commercial treaty. He resigned his post after the defeat of Van Buren and returned home.

He was next elected to the state senate and was chosen as its president. At the time the long-pending controversy with Great Britain over the northern boundary of Maine was approaching a crisis and Kavanagh was appointed as one of four commissioners who were to protect the interests of the state. Father Lucey's study of the commissioners' reaction to and final acceptance of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty contains much new and worthwhile material.

In 1843 the office of United States senator became vacant and Governor Fairfield, after weighing the advantages that might accrue to Kavanagh, assumed the office. Kavanagh automatically succeeded him as governor. Thus, through a chance of political fortune, he became the first Catholic Governor of Maine. At election time he sought a second term but was defeated in the state convention of his party. Retiring to private life, he died three weeks later on January 21, 1844.

Father Lucey has done an excellent piece of research work. He has not only traced the life of Kavanagh, but he has also placed it in its proper setting in state, national, and foreign affairs. The style is somewhat heavy and prolix. In a few instances this reviewer believes he has not handled his material skillfully and, as a result, confuses the reader.

EDWARD T. HARRINGTON

*Regis College*
*Weston*

*Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby.* By GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1947. Pp. xiv, 347. $4.00.)

Were this merely the story of how a young American, born in the most modest circumstances, rose by steadfast and assiduous effort to influence, power, and wealth this fine biography of America's first great political boss would be enticing reading. But Weed virtually grew up with the nation, and since he devoted his energies and talents to journalism and politics the hopes, yearnings, strivings; the optimism, enthusiasm, and prejudice; the thirst for human and social betterment and for material prosperity so characteristic of the young nation—all were elements of American life that required editorial comment and a politician's careful handling. How Weed reacted to them, how he handled them to develop political power, Professor Van Deusen has described admirably.

Born in 1797 in the shadow of the Catskills, Thurlow Weed's formal education was definitely limited, and the struggle for existence during his youthful years very earnest. When, however, he apprenticed as a printer he began a career that was to overcome his lack of schooling, to solve, after some trying experiences, the problem of food, clothing, and shelter, and was to lead him to the role for which his personality was so well attuned, and in which he attained to his power and wealth. For almost thirty years Weed presided as editor of the Albany *Evening Journal*, and made it the official paper of the Whig Party in New York. But Weed is not remembered as a journalist. He did not conceive the editing of the paper as an end in itself; politics came first. The *Journal* was established as a party organ, and always functioned as one. Editorial ability made it a paper people wanted to read, but state printing contracts made it a source of real profit, as editorship of the paper made Weed influential in party circles. That influence, proof of ability, hard work, and political shrewdness made Weed virtual dictator in his party, and they were the foundation of his wealth.

By far the most interesting of Weed's activities are those by which he built up what came to be the Whig Party in New York and made himself boss of that party. The describing of these activities is the heart of this biography, and the author's intimate knowledge and vivid style have imparted life to the story. It was not an easy task for Weed to break the power of the Albany Regency. It meant handling very shrewdly, and at times cold-bloodedly, personal and group rivalries and prejudices. Not only questions of tariff, internal improvements, banks, but such explosive issues as anti-rentism, prohibition, nativism, abolitionism had to be treated skillfully. Weed had definite opinions on these matters. A conservative humanitarian, he detested slavery, decried nativist outbursts of deed or word, had no stomach for prohibition, worked earnestly for high tariff and internal improvements, but one almost always feels that the political significance of the stand taken on any such issue was more important than the issue itself. Yet it must be recognized that the stand he took was very often that of true statesmanship, for restraint was good for the nation as well as for the party.

In the conduct of political campaigns Weed pulled no punches. His pen grew ever more potent in scathing attacks on Democratic opponents, attacks which involved him in a series of libel suits. He had no qualms about the use of money and bullies on election day, and fitness was never the controlling consideration in distributing the patronage. He was always aware of where the money came from and willingly worked for the projects of the business fraternity. Apparently he never sold public office, and he turned down many sizeable fees offered for his support of questionable proposals, but he earned the title "Wizard of the Lobby," and

his fortune was not built up exclusively from the profits of his paper nor from private speculations. He was patriotic, but not to the exclusion of taking commissions on war contracts he helped secure, nor of profiting handsomely in such enterprises as supplying ships to the Lincoln government and in the trade in Confederate cotton. It is hard to see where he made any contribution to the development of any high standards of political conduct. He did not try to lead the people; rather he sought to discover whither they were going that he might go with them.

There is tragedy in Weed's career. He gained power and wealth, but if there was any one goal for which he really wanted to exercise his power it was to make his friend Seward President. That Seward did not get the Republican nomination in 1860 seems to have been due not merely to the availability of Lincoln, nor the radicalism of Seward, but to the fact that the discarder Greely could so easily and effectively describe Weed's lobbying activities as corrupt. After 1860 Weed's star steadily descended, although Lincoln relied on him considerably in the early years of the war. But the grip on New York politics was gone. His last years were spent in a placid, quiet life in marked contrast to the strenuous days of his younger years.

A scholarly work, based on extensive use of manuscript and other sources, Professor Van Deusen's treatment is still popular. There are times when one feels the author presumes an unwarranted familiarity by the reader with the issues of New York politics of a hundred years ago, but for the most part the issues are presented clearly. Readers interested in the relationships between Weed and Archbishop Hughes will be disappointed. This account adds nothing, largely because, as the author points out in his preface, he was unable to gain access to the Hughes Papers. This scholarly, popular, sympathetic yet honest biography of Weed fills a definite need.

P. Raymond Nielson

*Creighton University*

*The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years.* Volume III, *1880-1900.* By Philip Kinsley. (Chicago: Chicago Tribune. 1946. Pp. xiv, 359. $3.00.)

As these lines are being typed, in mid-May, the Chicago *Tribune* is preparing to celebrate its hundredth anniversary. On June 10, 1847, the first issue of the paper appeared. Few newspapers have managed to survive for a century, in this or in any other country. What has given the Chicago *Tribune* this vitality which keeps its daily circulation well above the million mark? That is hard to say, even for such a confirmed reader of the

paper as the reviewer. It seems an equally hard question for Mr. Kinsley, an employee of the paper for many years, to answer.

Considering his position, Mr. Kinsley's attitude toward his paper seems quite objective. Although he naturally launches no attacks upon the newspaper concerned, many of his sentences do question some of the past policies of the editors. He devotes little or no time to hero worship. Actually he presents few of his own opinions or judgments. Rather, he simply selects the items best calculated in his opinion to make clear the policies of the paper from 1880 to 1900. Mr. Kinsley has already covered the paper's history during the period 1847-1865 in Volume I, while the period from 1865 to 1880 was dealt with in Volume II. The general tone of the third volume is very similar to that found in the first two volumes.

What did Mr. Kinsley select from the files of the Chicago *Tribune* when preparing this latest volume? Certainly there was no definite effort made to present a unified account. Dates are seldom mentioned. At times the diversity of ideas presented in a given paragraph would be enough to arouse the ire of any instructor in English. At other times the attitude of the paper toward social problems of the past is more than enough to madden the average liberal. The indifference of this newspaper to public opinion was as much in evidence in the period from 1880 to 1900 as it is in 1947. Another characteristic of the *Tribune*, as evident during the nineteenth century as it is today, is its unwillingness to be intimidated by any government officials, whether they be of the city, state, or national government.

In more detail, here is the record, in part: The *Tribune* was very much elated when the men tried for the Haymarket Riot in May, 1886, were convicted on what is today considered very flimsy evidence; the *Tribune* during this period fought the Standard Oil Company and inveighed frequently against the growth of monopolies; the paper attracted such writers as Rudyard Kipling, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and Mark Twain; it carried on a ceaseless war against Governor John Altgeld, because the latter had pardoned some of the men convicted during the Haymarket trial; the *Tribune* was in favor of annexing the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 and was also very much in favor of the war against Spain; it believed that we should extend our influence into the Caribbean area; it campaigned for McKinley. There is, perhaps, nothing startling in this record. In general it must have reflected the general attitude of the people in the Chicago area. No paper can last for one hundred years unless it is in substantial agreement with the community which it serves. Those who are always trying to determine whether a newspaper formulates or whether it reflects public opinion will find this book helpful in their study.

PAUL KINIERY

*Loyola University*
*Chicago*

*Wilson; The Road to the White House.* By ARTHUR S. LINK. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 570. $5.00.)

This is the first of a series of volumes, planned by the author, to deal fully with the life and times of Woodrow Wilson. It is based on all the available material, much of which was not used in the preparation of earlier books about Wilson, and it is thoroughly documented throughout.

The period covered in the present study is mainly the decade from 1902 to 1912. In the former year Woodrow Wilson became President of Princeton University. In the latter he became President of the United States. The one event led, by a clearly marked process of cause and effect, to the other. Wilson's earlier life, in which his political future was less definitely forecast, is summarized in an introductory chapter, "The Formative Years."

Mr. Link, who is a professor of history at Princeton University, has examined an enormous amount of material in the process of preparing this volume. His sources, include most of the Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress, the Wilson materials collected by the late Ray Standard Baker, manuscript collection in the Princeton University Library, the Edward N. House Papers at Yale University, the William Garrot Brown Papers at Duke University, the Jane Addams, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft Papers in the Library of Congress, contemporary newspapers, hitherto largely untouched by Wilson scholars, pertinent periodicals like *Harper's Weekly* and *Collier's Weekly*, and memoirs and autobiographies, especially James Kerney's *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, and William O. Inglis' account of Wilson's relations with George Harvey, 1906-1912. Though he has made himself familiar with all the Wilson biographies, the author has leaned on none except Baker's *Life and Letters*.

The subject of the study is as interesting as it is difficult. How the conservative of 1902 became the progressive of 1910, how the nominee of political bosses became the great enemy of boss rule, and how, above all, the scholar and the theorist of politics became the winning candidate in the seemingly hopeless contest at the Baltimore convention of 1912, are questions that challenge the historian by their intricacy and subtlety, while they attract the reader as would those of a first-rate novel. In the present volume Mr. Link succeeds admirably both in solving the problems of Woodrow Wilson's development and advancement during the period dealt with, and in presenting his findings in a simple but scholarly way.

Critics of the book may find some evidences of latent prejudices in the author's mind against certain individuals and groups, but on the whole, the work is remarkably free from hero-worship on the one hand, and, on the other, from the spirit of the debunker. The Wilson who

appears in these pages is a figure, not, perhaps, easy to understand or to love, but as true to life as an able, objective, and hard-working historian can make him. No serious student of Woodrow Wilson and his times can afford to neglect making a careful examination of *The Road to the White House.*

Aside from the text and the footnotes, with their numerous and judicious quotations from original documents, noteworthy features of the volume are an extensive classified bibliography and a comprehensive analytical index which is a model of its kind.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

*Queens College of the City of New York*

*Hawaii's Japanese. An Experiment in Democracy.* By Andrew W. Lind, University of Hawaii. [Published in cooperation with the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 264. $3.00.)

Dr. Lind is a professional sociologist of distinction with nearly twenty years of residence in Hawaii. His connections with the University of Hawaii, where he chaired the department of anthropology and sociology after 1941, entitle him to write with authority regarding the racial problem with which this book deals. The volume itself is the outgrowth of an intensive and carefully directed study of the subject begun in the spring of 1942 under the University of Hawaii's War Research Laboratory, headed by Dr. Lind.

Those acquainted with the basic facts of Hawaii's history will recall that the entry of Japanese into the islands began on a considerable scale after 1868. Japanese were welcomed as plantation laborers. During the period prior to annexation of the islands by the United States the urge for a cheap labor force for the sugar plantations led to a very great increase in the percentage of Japanese in Hawaii. This increase produced in the 1890's a racial tension which had not a little to do with the determined activity of a white minority to promote annexation of the islands by the United States. Fears for "Asiatic domination," and even of intervention by the Japanese government to the point of overwhelming the sovereignty of the native monarchy, were freely utilized as arguments for American control. Racialism played not a small part in the annexation drive which resulted in the raising of the American flag over Hawaii.

Following annexation, the number of Japanese increased even more rapidly until it was not long before they formed some forty per cent of the total island population. In many quarters the cry of "yellow menace" became more vociferous as a result. During the early 1900's when the

relations of the United States with Japan were strained as a result of the problem of Japanese immigration into the continental area, this tension was reflected in Hawaii. The very number of Japanese in Hawaii, however, together with their intelligence and initiative, brought them into the economy and society of the islands in every phase of their development. They could not be ignored. Prejudice and discrimination simply cannot work against overwhelming numbers. Dr. Lind's careful and intelligent survey of the history of the Japanese in Hawaii emphasizes that, as a result of their numbers and the amalgamation of the race into the life of the islands prior to the recent war, a relatively democratic solution to the problems involved in race relations had been achieved. Discrimination and fear had faded very largely into the background. Hawaii had succeeded the United States itself as a "melting pot" of the races.

This situation was given a rude shock by Pearl Harbor. The larger portion of this study deals with the story of the Hawaiian Japanese during the last war. It portrays the hysteria which came to the surface as latent racial feeling flamed into fire after December 7, 1941. The fantastic tales, invariably false, of sabotage and espionage upon the part of Hawaiian Japanese are worth reading if for no other reason than to study how racial hatred can be fanned into a bright flame by irresponsible persons.

The survey conducted by the War Research Laboratory under Dr. Lind's direction accumulated a considerable amount of the most valuable kind of field notes on the human side of race relations. Much of it is so fundamental as to apply to the entire field rather than simply to Hawaii. The very real contribution of the Hawaiian Japanese of all generations to the war effort, the intelligent management of the situation by the American army, most of the officials in Hawaii happening, interestingly enough, to be from the South, and other practical aspects of the situation are brought out clearly and effectively.

This is an excellent study. It is, as previously indicated, so fundamental that it is worth careful reading even by those who may not be interested in Hawaii or in the Japanese. Dr. Lind's book is deserving of recognition as a case study in racial relations. In this troubled world, where solution on an intelligent and Christian basis of the complicated problem of the contacts of one race with another is so vital to future peace and security, this book offers an unusual number of valuable ideas.

SYLVESTER K. STEVENS

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*
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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

The program for the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in Cleveland on December 27-29 has been completed by the Committee, of which Edward V. Cardinal, C.S.V., of the Sheil School of Social Studies in Chicago, is chairman. The program includes the customary joint session of our own Association with the American Historical Association.

There are few spots in the United States which hold more general interest for American Catholics than the little town of Emmitsburg, Maryland. There were laid the foundations nearly a century and a half ago for two thriving religious institutions, St. Joseph's College for women, conducted by the Daughters of Charity, and Mount Saint Mary's College for men, run by the diocesan clergy. During the summer of 1946 the managing editor of the REVIEW visited Mount Saint Mary's and wrote a brief description of their archives for the October, 1946, issue. In June he had the pleasure of a two-day visit at St. Joseph's, when he was given the opportunity of examining the rich collection of manuscript material preserved in the archives of that institution. Naturally the collection which attracts the most attention is the sixteen bound volumes of the correspondence and writings, in original and photostat, of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton, which cover the years 1796-1820. The records of the various missions of the sisters have likewise been carefully preserved and number eighty-six volumes of bound correspondence, reports, clippings, etc., running from 1821 to the present time. There are likewise eight volumes of such records of missions now closed, which date from 1814 to 1944; nineteen volumes of records of the Western Province of the Daughters of Charity, which run from 1828 to 1910, the year the western jurisdiction was erected as a province independent of the Emmitsburg motherhouse. There are sixteen volumes of bound correspondence from bishops, priests, and laity which run in time from around 1809 to about 1890. Finally there are thirty-eight volumes of community annals, consisting of four books each, which cover the period from 1809 to the present time.

The Seton correspondence will form the principal material for the definitive life of Mother Seton, the work on which was begun this autumn by Annabelle M. Melville, professor of American history in St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, and lecturer in American history in the summer session of the Catholic University of America in 1947. Readers of the REVIEW who may possess or know the whereabouts of any material on Mother Seton, will be doing a service to scholarship to inform Mrs. Melville.

In the old Catholic almanacs and directories there are many bits of information about distinguished prelates and religious and about Catholic institutions which need to be preserved and made available. The obituary notices of the religious and priests who had died the previous year are frequently the only clues to explain the sudden disappearance of names from the lists of the clergy. One item that has caused considerable speculation for historians of Catholicity in Detroit is an item signed by "O. D." in the *Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac* of 1871 (pp. 49-50), stating that he had countless documents of Father Gabriel Richard which his descendants would probably use for wrapping fish. No one has yet been able to identify the "O. D."

Frequently Catholic historians dealing with the early missionaries of the Middle West have trouble distinguishing the two Fathers Badin. Stephen Theodore Badin came to this country during the French Revolution, was the first priest ordained in the United States, and served for nearly a quarter of a century as a missionary in Kentucky before returning to France. In France he acted as a collector for the American missions until his return to the United States in 1828. In the meantime a younger brother, Francis Vincent—there were fifteen children in the Badin family—came to this country and was ordained in the Diocese of Bardstown, which at that time included all the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains. When the elder Badin returned to this country he went to Detroit, where Francis Vincent Badin was then serving, and from Detroit re-established the old St. Joseph Mission and founded an orphan school on the site of the present University of Notre Dame. He later retired to Cincinnati, where he died in 1853. His younger brother, after his ordination in Kentucky, served from 1822 to 1843 in the region, and later Diocese, of Detroit. The fact that both served in Kentucky and in Michigan, and the disparity in their ages has caused considerable confusion to the research worker. Even the late Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., called the younger Badin the nephew of the older missionary.

Two Lincoln items much cherished at the University of Notre Dame belonged to the more noted of the University's Civil War chaplains. One is the grant of a commission as general chaplain of the Indiana troops to Father Peter Paul Cooney, C.S.C., who gave the general absolution before the battle of Stone River. Governor Morton asked Lincoln for the appointment, and Lincoln granted the request in his own handwriting, February 3, 1862. The other autograph is on the back of a petition for the sparing of a Private Thomas Dawson from execution. Lincoln granted the petition only on condition that General Meade approve in writing the pardon of the young man. This Meade failed to do. The petition was carried to the President by Father William Corby, C.S.C., the chaplain who

gave general absolution at the battle of Gettysburg, and was found among his papers.

Dr. Richard Mudd of Muskegon, Michigan, a grandson of the physician of the same name who was imprisoned in Fort Tortugas for setting the leg of John Wilkes Booth, is preparing a study of the Mudd family. In the preparation of the volume Dr. Mudd made a visit recently to the famous Florida prison to view the actual scene of his grandfather's imprisonment. The story of his grandfather's arrest, trial, and imprisonment, and his subsequent liberation is a very interesting chapter in the history of the hysteria of the days following the assassination of Lincoln.

The response of the authorities of Catholic institutions which possess valuable collections of sources on American Catholic history to the summer course in the preservation and administration of archival materials offered by the National Archives in Washington has been highly gratifying. Out of a total of twenty-one students enrolled in the third year of the summer session, which ran from July 28 to August 23, 1947, seven were representatives of Catholic dioceses and institutions. They numbered five priests: Paul L. Love, archivist of the Archdioceses of Baltimore and Washington, James P. Moran, archivist of the Diocese of Grand Rapids, Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., of St. Joseph's Seminary, Washington, James A. Machin, S.J., of John Carroll University, and Francis X. Murphy, C.S.S.R., archivist of the eastern province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; and two sisters: Sister Genevieve Ryan and Sister John Mary Crumlish of St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

Through the medium of the course offered at the National Archives each summer a growing number of Catholic personnel is being trained in the scientific and technical aspects of record-keeping. By virtue of this fact the historian will find that a tremendous service has been done for his cause. It would be a splendid thing if every diocese and every religious order in the United States would appoint an official archivist and have that person trained at the National Archives with a view to the proper care of the Church's records in its custody.

The American Council of Learned Societies has published a brochure, compiled by Paul Lewinson: *A Guide to Documents in the National Archives for Negro Studies,* price $.50. This helpful guide of twenty-eight printed pages makes one all the more anxious that there should be a similar one on materials in the National Archives pertaining to the Catholic Church of the United States and our insular possessions.

The *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1946* (Washington, 1947) contains the customary reports

of the various divisions of our national library for 1946. A major item of interest in the volume is the over 200-page article by David C. Mearns entitled, "The Story up to Now," which gives an interesting survey of the varied fortunes of the library through the years since 1790, with generous quotations from the sources.

Historians everywhere will welcome the mimeographed *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress, June 1947,* issued under the auspices of the American Historical Association. The list comprises over 1000 entries from over fifty American institutions where doctoral dissertations are being written. The list sells for $1.00 and can be secured by addressing the Executive Secretary, American Historical Association, Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C. Money to cover the price should accompany orders.

The May number of *Priestly Studies,* published by the student Friars of the Old Mission at Santa Barbara, is devoted to articles on Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Interest in the Fathers of the Church is definitely growing in America. *Root and Branch,* the eighth annual publication of the students of Marygrove College, Detroit, is devoted to the perpetual timeliness of the Church Fathers. Its twenty papers are distributed through five headings: The Christian Way of Life; Sacred Scripture in the Christian Life; Human Relations in the Christian Life; the Christian Way Transcends Classes; The Christian and the State. The young writers will have greatly enriched their own lives by this contact with the wellsprings of Christian thought. The attractive booklet will pleasantly introduce many readers to the treasures of the Fathers.

Glasgow in Scotland has been made a metropolitan see, and Motherwell and Paisley have been created suffragan sees. The See of Glasgow was founded by St. Kentigern between 540 and 560. Its history is vague from the seventh to the twelfth century, when the see was restored. In 1492 it was created an archdiocese. James Beaton, its last archbishop, went into exile in France in 1560. From 1828 it had a vicar apostolic, until the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy in 1878. Glasgow has been an archbishopric directly subject to the Holy See. The University of Glasgow reaches back to Bishop Turnbull in 1450, when it was founded under a bull of Pope Nicholas V. It retained its original quarters until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The remains of Richard I, the Fearless (943-996) and Richard II, the Good (996-1026), dukes of Normandy were recently restored to their resting place under an altar of the Trinité of Fécamp, church of the long-famous abbey. The leaden caskets containing their bones had been dis-

covered in 1942 while efforts were being made at the abbey to protect art treasures from the havoc of war. Richard II brought St. William of Dijon to Fécamp, who introduced the Cluniac rule there. Later it came under the Maurists. Since the time of the French Revolution the abbey has been taken over by the French government for public use. The Trinité is used as a parish church.

René Draguet concludes a masterly article in Volume XLII (1947), nos. 1 and 2, of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, which shows that the Lausiac History of Palladius was influenced throughout by the language and doctrine of Evagrius. It is further indication of the great influence of Evagrius in the history of spirituality.

The June issue of the *Nouvelle revue théologique* is devoted to preaching and preachers. Three of the articles are historical. R. Leijs, S.J., writes on the "Prédication des apôtres," chiefly on St. Paul. He quotes the Greek, and builds his article on modern bibliography. P. Charles, S.J., deals with "L'Elément populaire dans les sermons de saint Augustin". Without citing the literature, he digs his matter out of Augustine. The final article is a brief sketch of the "Prédicateurs au moyen âge" by L. Stinglhamber, S.J. It has little connection with the practical purpose of this symposium.

Charles Verlinden, who is engaged in writing the history of slavery in the Middle Ages, contributes a lengthy article on the use of *sclavus* in the meaning of slave to Volume XVII of the *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (*Bulletin Du Cange*). His notes contain much bibliography on the history of slavery.

*Smaragdus* is a vivacious eight-page "bulletin d'histoire et de littérature chrétienne annexé à la *Revue du moyen âge latin*." It is sent to subscribers of the *Revue*. Separately its seven annual numbers cost 120 francs outside of France. Our readers are reminded again that the *Revue* is priced at 500 francs per year in France. Foreign subscribers will be charged more. They are advised to deal with the distributor, La librairie Klincksieck, 11 rue de Lille, Paris, VII$^{e}$. Tome I, no. 7 of *Smaragdus* quotes a lengthy passage, important for the history of medicine, from the *Vitas patrum Emeretensium* ed. by Joseph N. Garvin, C.S.C. (The Catholic University of America Press, 1946) and comments on it.

Dom Jean Leclercq ("Deux anciennes versions de la Légende de l'abbé Macaire," *Revue Mabillon*, 36, 1946, 65-79) prints from a manuscript of the ninth and tenth centuries two forms of an early Latin version of a "Debate of the Body and Soul," a literary form which was very popular in mediaeval literature. The present texts point back to a source among the Fathers of the Egyptian desert.

A seminar in lexicography has been founded under the auspices of the Royal Spanish Academy to further work on the Dictionary of the Academy.

In *Estudios eclesiásticos* (Volume 21, pages 217-223) José Madoz, S.J., identifies sources for the *Versus Isidori,* which the saint wrote for his library. Isidore made use especially of Martial. In another article Father Madoz traces the simile used by Lueretius in *De rerum natura,* 11. 935-42 in more than a dozen Christian authors (*Principe de Viana,* no. XXIV).

The *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici* is a new quarterly published since 1945 by the Officium Libri Catholici in Rome. Under the auspices of a group of professors in Rome, it publishes articles and reviews in various languages on canon, international, and comparative law. The first article is by Monsignor Eugene Pacelli on "La Personnalité et la territorialité des lois particulièrement dans le droit canon." The article was originally written in Italian in 1912. Professor Dino Staffa writes a lengthy commentary on the article, and expresses the hope that the principles established in this study will be adopted in the projected Code of Oriental Canon Law. The format of the review is very attractive. The price is approximately $8.00 per year.

Charles R. D. Miller, executive secretary of the Mediaeval Academy of America, has been appointed editor of *Speculum* to succeed the late Samuel H. Cross. H. M. Smyser, Barnaby C. Keeney, and John P. Elder have been named assistant editors.

Professor Gaines Post of the department of history in the University of Wisconsin read a paper on "The Theory of Public Law and the State in the Thirteenth Century" before the Riccobono Seminar of Roman Law at the Catholic University of America on May 12. Professor Post was the magister of the Riccobono Seminar this year.

Hugh J. Nolan, who for the past three years has been an instructor in history at St. James High School in Chester, Pennsylvania, has accepted an appointement as professor of American church history in the St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. Father Nolan will direct the seminarians who are working for the master's degree in church history as well as give two graduate courses. His doctoral dissertation, a life of Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Philadelphia, went to press last month.

Etienne Gilson has been made a member of the French Academy.

Sister Mary Celeste Leger, R.S.M., chairman of the division of social sciences at St. Xavier College, Chicago, died on August 18. Sister Celeste took the doctorate in 1929 under the late Monsignor Guilday at the Catholic University of America. She was the author of several high school texts in American history used widely in Catholic high schools.

Alphonse Van Hove, outstanding as an author, and professor of canon law in the University of Louvain, died recently. His volume of *Prolegomena* to the Louvain commentary on the Code of Canon Law, invaluable to the historian, is available in a new and greatly enlarged edition (1945). His five tomes on the first book of the Code of Canon Law are the most satisfactory treatment of this book.

The distinguished Swiss-born artist, Adolph Muller-Ury, who painted many fine portraits of popes and cardinals, died in New York at the age of eighty-three.

The 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Archdiocese of St. Louis occurred on July 20. It had been a diocese since 1826. The third oldest archdiocese in the United States, it followed only Baltimore and Portland, Oregon. Forty-two dioceses have been formed from its original territory during the past hundred years.

The Republic of Liberia is celebrating the centenary of its independence. It has 10,000 Catholics in a population of nearly 2,000,000. The first priests to labor there were Americans. Father Edward Barron, who had been vicar general of Philadelphia, offered the first Mass in Liberia on February 10, 1842. Later he became vicar apostolic there. He was consecrated in Rome on November 1, 1842, by the prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Fransoni, assisted by Archbishop Cadolini of Edessa and Bishop Rosati of St. Louis (*Notes et documents relatifs à la vie et à l'oeuvre du vénérable François-Marie-Paul Libermann*, V [Paris, 1936], 131-132). When the American missionaries were unable to endure the climate the African Mission Society of Lyons took over the Liberian mission. At present the American province of the society with its seminary in Washington, D. C., is preparing to send priests to Liberia. The first native priest of the country, Father P. K. Juule, was ordained in this centenary year.

The illustrated brochure, *Pages from the Story of an Ancient Parish* by Edward A. Ryan, S.J., professor of church history in Woodstock College, tells the interesting tale of St. Aloysius Parish at Leonardtown, Maryland. The parish celebrated on July 27 the centennial of its present church, although the original church edifice of that name at Leonardtown goes back to 1767. The Jesuits have had charge of the parish from its beginning. Father Louis A. Wheeler, S.J., the present pastor writes the foreword, and Father Ryan has supplied lists of the priests who have served the parish since 1846 and of the impressive number of priests and religious who call St. Aloysius their home parish.

Ratcliffe College in Leicestershire, founded by the Fathers of Charity, celebrated its centenary in July.

*Documents:*

Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, Tractatus de unitate intellectus, contra Averroistas. I Quiles (*Ciencia y Fe,* Vol. I, No. 3).—Cartas de Pedro Mártir sobre las Comunidades traducidas por el Padre José de la Canal. El Conde de Atarés (*La Ciudad de Dios,* Vol. CLVII, No. 2 and 3).—Documentos autógrafos de Fr. Luis de León de gran interés para su biografía. Angel Custodio Vega (*ibid.,* No. 3).—A Chapter-List of the Franciscan Province of Tucuman and Paraguay, 1629. (*Americas,* July).—Documents relating to the History of the Franciscan Missions in Shantung, China. Bernward H. Willeke, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Studies,* June).—Philadelphia and the Revolution. Trans. by Jules A. Baisnée and John J. Meng (*Records of the American Catholic Histor. Soc.,* June).—Three letters of the Reverend Joseph Salzmann to the treasurer of the Ludwigmissionsverein, Munich, tr. by A. C. Breig (*Salesianum,* July).

## BRIEF NOTICES

ADAMS, EVELYN C. *American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress.* (New York: King's Crown Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 122. $2.25.)

The author's professed aim is "to show how poorly or how well the many programs of the settlers [to re-educate the Indian] and later of the United States government reached stated goals, and also how they failed or succeeded in meeting Indian needs." The aspect of these programs in which she is mainly, in fact almost exclusively, interested is their contribution to the advancement or the rehabilitation of the Indians' economic life. She disarms a certain amount of criticism by offering her slender volume as a "skeletal outline" of a complex subject. Yet it may be questioned whether she has fairly apportioned space to the several parts of her subject. Certain short-lived Protestant experiments in Indian education during colonial times and the most recent program of the federal government (1933-1945) would seem to claim a disproportionate share of her attention. Her lack of interest in other earlier and even contemporary programs is no doubt explained by her final dicta: "The present program is sound; it is one of common sense; one of mutual interest and universal good; valiant and dramatic in its realism." Whereas, "Little more than an uneven record could be expected from a program [1600-1932] which projected what are now outmoded theories of anthropology, economics, and education."

The present government program, in which the author was a participant, is described in detail and with enthusiasm. Her accounts of earlier programs and achievements are, however, not only sketchy, but also generally vague and quite incomplete. These characteristics are particularly noticeable in her description of the efforts of the Catholic and Protestant churches during the nineteenth century. To others who have written upon the subject the fact appears obvious that the schools under church supervision were almost the only constructive educational influence among the Indians until at least seventy-five years ago and that their contribution to Indian welfare even on the economic level was by no means negligible before and after that time. Data that warrant this statement are abundant in the annual *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*

The author's appraisal of the mission and other programs may be justifiably challenged as valuations dependent upon incomplete and inadequate data. Her reader is given no clue to the data which she has considered except those which she herself has set down. The sources whence they have been derived are not revealed to him, for there are no references to these in the text and no footnotes. True, there is a bibliography of approximately a hundred titles, consisting mostly of sources and books of real merit pertaining to the subject. But the reviewer would not attempt to guess which of these have been used and to what extent. He notes, however, the absence of Blauch, *Educational Service for Indiana,* Schmeckerbier, *The Office of Indian Affairs,* Cohen, *Indian Law,* Kinney, *A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won,* Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* and the *Report of the National Advisory Committee on Education.* He ventures the opinion that the judicious use of these would have given the book in question a better balance insofar as factual presentation of the subject is concerned and in its appraisals. (J. B. TENNELLY)

ANGLE, PAUL M. (Ed.). *The Lincoln Reader.* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. Pp. xii, 539. $3.75.)

Lincoln has been the subject of a variety of writings and it is fitting that Angle, the person best qualified, should compile this anthology. The editor, an authority on Lincoln literature, secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, and former secretary of the Illinois Historical Society, is virtually a product of the Lincoln country. The present work is a complete biography of Lincoln, using 179 selections by sixty-five authors, covering all phases of his life. It contains a foreword by the editor, an epilogue by Lord Charnwood, a complete bibliography, and an index. There is a special reference section showing a breakdown of selections according to chapters, and giving the source of each.

One must read the book to appreciate the skill of Mr. Angle's selections. He has produced a connected story, which gives a clear and concise picture of the martyred President, and at the same time is the combined effort of the great names in Lincoln literature. Angle's editorial comment at the beginning of each chapter adds greatly to the continuity of the story. While the book contains selections of the great names, it is by no means monopolized by them. Beveridge and Barton have four selections each, while Randall has only two, which is some indication that the editor wished to present an orthodox picture of Lincoln. Nicoloy and Hay are represented by eighteen selections, Sandburg by sixteen, Herndon by nine, Thomas by eight, and Charnwood by six. The number and size of the Sandburg and Charnwood passages give an emphasis to literature and interpretation, rather than to detailed facts. Many names will not be familiar even to the above-average Lincoln reader, but their contribution to the picture is apparent.

This is a novel Lincoln work and a unique biography; it is a complete story for the average reader, and a book that no Lincoln student can afford to miss. (THOMAS B. DUNN)

BURROUGHS, BETTY (Ed.). *Vasari's Lives of the Artists.* (New York: Simon & Schuster. 1946. Pp. xv, 309. $3.75.)

Georgio Vasari (1511-1571) was both a painter and an architect. He was more successful as an architect, for in painting he was merely a feeble imitator of Michelangelo. Vasari's main distinction, however, rests upon his *Lives of the Most Eminent Architects, Painters and Sculptors of Italy,* the first edition of which was issued in 1550. This work is still an indispensable source for all who wish to make a serious study of the artists of the Renaissance.

From Vasari's work of five volumes, Miss Burroughs has taken the lives of the most famous artists of the early, middle, and high Renaissance and has edited them in a one volume edition. As Miss Burroughs is well aware, her edition is not meant to supplant the original work of Vasari for anyone who intends to make a thorough investigation of the artists of the Renaissance. Following Vasari's plan, the editor has divided the book into three parts representing the three periods of Renaissance art. She has selected from Vasari those artists whom she believes to be the most representative of each period. Her selection could hardly be improved upon. Following Vasari's account of an artist's life and

work, which she presents in abridged form, Miss Burroughs adds editorial comments of her own. These comments contain references to recent scholarship, which in many cases differ from Vasari's accounts. She also adds many interesting sidelights on the artists in question in addition to comments upon such techniques as fresco production (p. 38) and the beginnings of oil painting (p. 108). In most cases, however, her editorial comments are too brief and consequently rather unsatisfactory, except, perhaps, in the case of Titian and Michelangelo to whom she devotes much more material. Miss Burroughs wisely includes a series of plates illustrating the work of many of the artists whom she has presented for each of the three periods. Her choice of illustrations is most commendable. For instance, Botticelli is represented by his "St. Augustine" rather than by the traditional "Birth of Venus." The reason for such a choice, as the editor herself states (p. 149), is to show the religious side of Botticelli as a follower of Savonarola. The same good taste is also revealed in the choice of the lesser known, but nonetheless commendable works, of Raphael ("Fire in the Borgo"), Leonardo ("Madonna of the Rocks") and Michelangelo ("Holy Family").

By the painstaking work of editing as revealed in the present work, Miss Burroughs has done a service in bringing the work of Vasari to the attention of those who never would have consulted the original. In addition, her work will certainly be welcomed by students of the Renaissance for whom she has performed a genuine assistance. (GEORGE E. TIFFANY)

CHRISTOPHER, JOSEPH P. (Translator and Annotator). *St. Augustine. The First Catechetical Instruction. (De Catechizandis Rudibus).* (Westminster: Newman Bookshop. 1946. Pp. 171. $2.50.)

*The First Catechetical Instruction,* also known as *De catechizandis rudibus,* is the first of the great texts devoted exclusively to the methodology of teaching religion. After more than fifteen centuries, this treatise can be read with pleasure and profit. Much of what St. Augustine wrote for the first time in this book has since been incorporated into modern pedagogy. Written at the request of a catechist in deacon's orders, Augustine lays down basic principles to improve the teaching of Christian doctrine, pointing out where to begin the narration and when to make the practical application of the lesson to actual life and conduct; and he includes two magnificent doctrinal explanations—one long and one brief—to exemplify his method. One of the great contributions of St. Augustine to catechetics was the correlation of bible and church history with the doctrine found in the catechism. The art of questioning, the interest in the pupil's physical comfort while learning, the necessity of having the teacher place himself as it were in the position of the learner, are among the topics treated in this work with consummate skill and power.

Every teacher of religion owes Dr. Christopher a vote of thanks for making this text available in a smooth translation which is amply annotated and indexed. The chapter headings give a clear summary of the content of the major divisions of the original text, and they are a distinct boon for the busy teacher. Father Christopher's excellent introduction gives a picture of the catechumenate

together with the place of Augustine's treatise in the history of catechetics. This work first appeared in 1926 as the translator's dissertation in the Department of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University of America, and now, newly revised, it appears as the second volume of the Ancient Christian Writers series edited by Fathers Quasten and Plumpe of the Catholic University of America. The patristic scholar and the classical philologist as well as the teacher of religion will find in this book the solution to many doubts and difficulties. (JOSEPH B. COLLINS)

COGAN, SISTER MARY DE PAUL. *Sisters of Maryknoll through Troubled Waters.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. Pp. vi, 220. $2.50.)

Sister Mary de Paul Cogan gives a vivid description of the fury of World War II which passed over the Far East and which brought the greatest ruin to the Catholic missions. The narrative is made up from personal experiences of 240 sisters of Maryknoll culled from letters which they sent to the motherhouse. There is no strict chronological order of events, yet the stories will be of historical value as they are first-hand experiences of the mission activities of the sisters. These reports are compiled in four parts, according to the field of mission activity of the Maryknoll Sisters, i.e., the Philippines, China, Manchuria, and Korea. The last chapter gives an account of the achievement in their missionary work.

Foremost in these war stories is the account of the harsh treatment by the enemy—although some enemy guards were truly kind and helpful—of the frightful life of famine in Camp Los Baños (Philippines), of living in Camp Stanley (near Hongkong) in constant fear of daily inquisitions and nightly scares, of the long and harrassing questioning and insulting personal examinations, and of the constant spying in Manchuria and Korea. In free China, the sisters spent not a mean proportion of their lives in shelters, or out in the hillsides to protect themselves from bombing. Yet in these lines missionary greatness is revealed. Storms cannot break it, sorrows cannot destroy it. Only with deep emotion can one read about their religious life in the camp which lifted them above their daily miseries and the practice of charity which sweetened their imprisonment.

The book is a real missionary odyssey and has a distinct Pauline flavor: "In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers . . ., in perils in the city," but the sisters were spared that keenest of sorrows, the betrayal by false brethren.

In two chapters at the end of the volume, the sisters give the highest testimony to their converts. Most emphatically is the old charge against the Chinese Christians of being "rice Christians," refuted. Facts of heroic loyalty are enumerated. Finally, a most glowing tribute is given to the native sisterhood which the sisters had planted and nurtured and now in the stormy days of war, ripened to the precious fruit of Catholic religious life. The titles of these chapters are significant: "These Are Our Jewels," and "More Precious than Rubies."

The author has made an excellent selection from all letters covering the whole field of persecution and there is no monotonous repetition. The book will have its permanent place in mission literature. The index makes the book more valuable. One might add that many other sisterhoods had similar experiences

of blood and tears, e.g., the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Ghost (Techny). All congregations should open their letter files for publication. Only then will the historian be able to write the complete history of the missionary sister in World War II. (MATHIAS BRAUN)

COLE, G. D. H., and RAYMOND POSTGATE. *The British People, 1746-1946.* Revised and enlarged edition. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. x, 600, XXV. $5.00.)

This informative and quite readable survey, obviously prepared for the general reader rather than the specialist, first appeared in 1939. A lengthy chapter covering the World War II period has been added and a number of incidental inaccuracies appearing in the earlier edition have been corrected. Many readers will share the reviewer's regret, however, that the job of overhauling was not considerably more thorough.

The title selected for the book is deceptive and actually unwarranted by its contents. Messrs. Cole and Postgate, whose reputations are well established by an array of historical works produced over a span of some thirty years, make no attempt to portray the life of the British people as a whole. Even the recurring phrase, "This is a history of the British common people," does not reveal the real theme of their collaborative presentation. It is primarily a history of radical political agitation and trade unionism written from a socialist, though hardly from a communist, viewpoint. Rarely are we given a graphic description of the common people incisively pictured in a recent book, *Under the Crust,* "as individual men who sweat and work, wash and go to bed, swill beer, fill in the football columns, and watch the dogs." Rather the toiling masses remain throughout mere shadowy figures in the background of a stage which is dominated by a procession of labor leaders and political reformers, the movements they sponsored and the quarrels in which they became involved.

An immense body of valuable factual material is presented, ranging from the size and distribution of the population at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution to the numerous social and political benefits which have accrued to the working class during the past two generations. However, the "freedom" gained by the workers is gauged exclusively in terms of a higher material standard of living and the extent to which their political rights have been recognized. Quite uniformly, too, interpretations of trends and policies are based upon grounds of economic or political expediency, or even on wishful socialistic thinking, rather than on sound moral principles. While facts are not sacrificed to propaganda, yet a discriminating selection of topics and the skillful manner of their treatment display the authors' proneness to accept the class struggle philosophy. Areas of proletarian interest and activity largely neglected in the original edition, such as education, health, recreation, and migration have been accorded meager treatment and there are a few, cursory allusions to the influence of religion on the lives of the masses. The struggle for Catholic Emancipation and Cardinal Manning's successful settlement of the London dock strike in 1889 each merits a brief paragraph. The only reference to the Wesleyan movement appears in the form of a quotation from Cobbett's sneering condemnation of "the nasty, canting, dirty, lousy Methodists." (CLARENCE J. RYAN)

COON, HORACE. *Columbia: Colossus on the Hudson.* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co, 1947. Pp. 388. $4.50.)

The publisher's note which appears under the half-title announces that this is the first volume in a projected series on American colleges and universities. The series will consist of independent volumes produced by distinguished writers and will be an interpretation of the university, the personalities who contributed to it, and the graduates it has produced.

Unfortunately, this first volume is a poor beginning. Mr. Coon, if we may credit the dust jacket, is a free-lance writer, and is "distinguished" in the sense of being well-known, rather than by virtue of scholarly achievements. And he has produced a study in the worst tradition of the journalist turned historian. It is a "newsy" account, replete with anecdotes, faculty feuds and the like, but with absolutely no documentation, nor so much as a hint of the sources from which the material was gathered. Neither is there the unity of presentation, nor the temperance of expression which one has a right to expect in an "interpretation" of the history of an internationally famous university. It is hardly the mark of a mature scholar, for example, to refer to Nicholas Murray Butler as one who "for nearly half a century . . . enjoyed delusions of grandeur . . . a garrulous, peace-loving internationalist . . ." (p. 13). The work is marred by such "daring" characterizations and descriptions which engender much heat but generally shed very little light.

Columbia is a great university, a true colossus, by reason of the monumental scholarship it has fostered, no less than for the fabulous stupidities it has perpetrated on an uncritical and well-paying clientele. Mr. Coon has given us quite enough of the gossip and the personalities. It now remains for the publisher to live up to the rest of his bargain with a volume which will ". . . interpret the history of [the] institution, its character, traditions and influence on national life. . . ." (JOHN H. HARRINGTON)

CORTS GRAU, JOSÉ. *Motivos de la España Eterna.* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos. 1946. Pp. 332. 30 pesetas.)

ECHEAVDÍO, D. JOSÉ. *La Persecucion Roja en el Pais Vasco. Memorias de un excautivo.* (Barcelona: Fidel Rodriquez. 1945. Pp. 358. 25 pesetas.)

VALLE, FLORENTINO DEL, S.J. *Las Reformas Sociales en España.* (Madrid: Editorial "Razón y Fe," S. A. 1946. Pp. 166. 15 pesetas.)

Dr. Corts Grau, professor of the philosophy of law in the University of Valencia, has published six essays which constitute a fervent exposition of the historical and philosophical currents that concurred in the creation of the Spanish nationality. According to his view the Spanish Civil War was due in great part to the fact that the Spaniards forgot these Catholic principles. Ignorance of these same principles has led many people of other countries to give an erroneous interpretation to the history of Spain. Then he points out to his fellow countrymen the urgent need of following the teachings of their great thinkers (Balmes, Donoso Cortés, and Menéndez y Pelayo) and the examples of their great saints (Teresa of Avila, Ignatius Loyola, and Dominic Guzmán).

To the deviation from the Catholic faith by the masses and to the infiltration among them of the Marxist doctrines of hatred and extermination, may be ascribed the martyrdom of priests and other innocent victims that took place in the Basque region. Father José Echeandía, who although being a Basque suffered at the hands of the Basque separatists, gives a detailed account of the assassination of many of his companions on the prison ships anchored in the bay of Bilbao. He has performed a real service for future historians by publishing an eye-witness account of those who gave their lives for God and country in the three Basque provinces of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava. Undoubtedly, the gruesome facts and the large number of victims will surprise those whose knowledge of the Spanish Civil War is based only upon the propaganda of Spanish exiles.

One of the most difficult tasks that Spain had to face after its civil war was to bring the workingman back to the Christian social principles as advocated by the encyclicals of the Popes. The task was twofold. Justice had to be done to the legitimate aspirations of the workingman; then he had to be provided with social, moral, and professional training within the Christian framework. Father Florentino del Valle, S.J., has proven scientifically that the social reforms in Spain based upon the teaching of the Catholic Church are calculated to meet the just claims of labor. The Spanish Labor Charter includes a policy of social security for the workingman which earned the highest praise of the famous English economist, Sir William Beveridge. The present social legislation of Spain advocates not merely profit-sharing by workmen, but even worker's participation in the management of the company for which he works. Spain's social program deserves the study of all those who are interested in the betterment of the working classes. (Roderick A. Molina)

Crenshaw, Ollinger. *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXIII, Number 3]. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1945. Pp. 332. $3.00.)

As is customarily expected from the graduate school of the Johns Hopkins University, this doctoral dissertation reaches a high standard of general excellence. Most studies of graduate students do not aim at fascinating the casual reader and Mr. Crenshaw's volume is no exception. However, the historian interested in the Civil War era—for whom the book was primarily written—will find it useful, comprehensive, and well-organized.

The organization of the book is such as to divide it roughly into two sections—a background dealing with the conventions and candidates and the issue of slavery in the territories, and a study of the election campaign itself with chapters devoted to southern political strategy, the Douglas strategy, emotionalism in the election, and sections on the campaign in the border slave states and upper South and in the lower South respectively. The plan of these latter two sections is well-conceived. The author has compiled a comprehensively documented state-by-state report in which the specialist or state historian will find detailed information. To this he has added a section summarizing for the general historian the characteristics of the election in each of the two divisions of the South.

Perhaps the best summarizing of the book is done in the matter of describing the aims of the rival parties in the South. Briefly, Mr. Crenshaw views these aims as: (1) the South should "by unity and defiance assume a strong position in defence of Southern rights by casting a unanimous vote for Breckinridge" (p. 302), and (2) the Bell-Douglas contention "that the best way to secure Southern rights was by continued cooperation with allies, conservatives and Unionists" (p. 304). He does not find an essential southern unity of opinion but rather a "mutual distrust and suspicion between the deep South and the upper-border slave regions" (p. 305).

Outstanding in the work from the standpoint of research and writing is the section on emotionalism and its uses in forming southern opinion in the campaign. Mr. Crenshaw has based his study on a broad collection of newspaper and manuscript sources. The former is particularly impressive, with the press of all states and all shades of opinion well represented. Manuscript collections include those of three presidential candidates—John Bell, Stephen A. Douglas, and John C. Breckinridge—as well as some twenty other individuals of more or less importance. The format of the volume is excellent with clear, large type almost totally free from typographical errors. (JASPER W. CROSS, JR.)

DANIELS, JOSEPHUS. *The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 654. $4.00.)

The student of history anxiously awaits the published memoirs of public men, and especially those of men high in an administration which functioned during momentous times. Sometimes the memoirs justify the long wait, but too often they are disappointing, adding little to what is already known. Josephus Daniels' book belongs in the latter category.

He has retained the style of the journalist, hence at times his story is absorbing. On the other hand, the narrative is frequently rambling and repetitious. Too often irrelevant and gossipy anecdotal attempts at humor are inserted. Perhaps his journalistic background is also responsible for the almost complete lack of references. Many detailed descriptions of events are given with no sources noted. Rumors and gossip are repeated. From time to time, Mr. Daniels refers to his diary but the student cannot check it. Contrary to sound historical scholarship, he sometimes uses newspapers as sources of fact. Many questions he leaves unsolved when a little research would have given him the answers. There is no bibliography but a good index.

Newspaper reporters are charged with having more interest in news than accuracy. Mr. Daniels has fallen into inaccuracies. He looked for the tomb of John Paul Jones in Paris instead of visiting the Naval Academy (p. 398). His gossip concerning Albert I of Belgium incorrectly names Leopold II as Albert's father (pp. 432-437). Someone mislabelled the middle picture facing page 22. His near worship of Woodrow Wilson leads him to constant superlatives. Words such as, "consecration," "consecrated," "sacred," give the impression that Wilson was a new messiah. He sees only good in the former President and evil in his opponents. His treatment of Sims, Page, House, and Lansing is vicious.

Of course, Mr. Daniels himself is not neglected. The former Secretary of the Navy was always the champion of the downtrodden, the true statesman with

phenomenal foresight, the enemy of privilege and the predatory capitalist. On the other hand, the stalwart democrat is proud of his friendship with the aristocrats and royalty. However, his known anti-Catholic bias led him to snub the Pope and to give an embellished account of it. The present volume is not a great contribution to general history, but it will be invaluable to the biographer of Josephus Daniels. (J. RYAN BEISER)

DESTLER, CHESTER MCARTHUR. *American Radicalism, 1865-1901: Essays and Documents.* [Connecticut College Monographs. No. 3.] (New London: Connecticut College. 1946. Pp. xiii, 276. Cloth $3.50; paper $2.50.)

For some this volume may seem merely warmed-over goods, but it will save steps for those who are interested in the author's writings on American radicalism over a period of the last fourteen years. It contains seven reprints from scholarly American journals. One of these is a document. There are also three newly-published chapters and one manuscript of Henry Demarest Lloyd which is edited for the first time.

The keynote essay on western radicalism carries the burden of Destler's anti-Turner thesis which considers that it was not so much the frontier but the inter-play of urban and agrarian forces which shaped the form of radicalism in the United States in the post-Civil War period. The Pendleton Plan, Edward Kellogg, the Toledo gas pipe-line controversy, *Wealth against Commonwealth,* and the vicissitudes of the Labor Populist Alliance of Illinois in 1894 are treated in turn. Most of the new material concerns the last topic. As one might suspect the unity of the book is superimposed only by the preface which offers the articles as a demonstration of the validity of the author's approach. All the subjects are investigated thoroughly from such sources as personal papers and the press. Their common tendency is to point up the characteristics of American radicalism in those years, namely, an emphasis on the unity of the producing classes, the labor-cost theory of value, and especially the spirit of anti-monopoly.

Just what is meant by radicalism is never clearly set forth, except for a few expressions about combating traditionalism and breaking sharply with the past. The emphasis on the autochthonous nature of the development in all the author's discussions would indicate why the word "American" is used in the title and not, "in America." Lloyd, on whose career Destler is now completing a study, is a key figure and receives sympathetic treatment. The work on Kellogg is wisely offered to illustrate what can be done in tracing the influence of ideas, whether of alien or of native origin, as they affect the course of social thought by being rejected or by being incorporated in new syntheses. This volume, with its two fleeting references to Marx, has little on the contribution of imported socialism, and nothing on the late and delicate force of the social gospel among American Christians. For those who need to be shown by a critical historian it will demonstrate that there is nothing particularly un-American or even "New Dealish" about a cautious attitude toward free enterprise. And if history must teach a lesson, the present book may even help establish, from the experience of the late ninteenth century for the benefit of the mid-twentieth, that you can be radical and not be red, and as a matter of fact, an American can be radical and be right. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

DOWDEY, CLIFFORD. *Experiment in Rebellion: The Human Story of the Men Who Guided the Confederacy.* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1946. Pp. xxi, 455. $3.75.)

*Experiment in Rebellion* is an outstanding contribution to the ever-growing library of books dealing with the most disastrous upheaval in our national history. Call it what you will:—the war between the states, the civil war, the second revolution—it stains the pages of the history of the United States with a splotch of blood, sweat, and tears which offers proof conclusive of the blind stupidity and the cruel inhumanity which stem from man's distorted cupidity.

Dowdey takes his reader to Richmond on "an indolent morning in late May of 1861. Wisteria was in brief dramatic bloom against iron-grille balconies, and rambler roses budded along the red-brick walls of gardens. New Confederate flags flew from the windows of the slope-roofed Queen Anne and Georgian houses.

From the train crossing the bridge over the James, the President's party could see the old city rising from the river, with Jefferson's white-pillared Capitol bold in the center."

From there on, he tells the story of Jefferson Davis in pathetic simplicity—the story of a President who muddled through to tragedy and of a general who slowly climbed to glory; of an experiment in political rebellion from the vantage point of the capital city of the rebellion against the back-drop of hope through the gloom and disaster and the final humiliation of a proud people.

The story of the rebellion is one of mounting interest from that "indolent morning in late May of 1861" when Davis came first to Richmond to that first Sunday in April, 1865, which was "a beautiful day. Recent rains had brought out the yellow and pale green flowers and the trees were bright and young . . . . When, in the middle of the service at St. Paul's, the messenger brought the fateful words from Lee, the President was not unprepared. As the death of a loved one long ill still comes with a shock, Lee's message that he must retreat from Petersburg, and Richmond be evacuated came sooner than was expected.

"I quietly left the church," says Davis. "The occurrence probably attracted attention but . . . . the congregation at St. Paul's was too refined to make a scene at anticipated danger. . . ."

On April 9, Lee asked for a meeting with Grant at Appomattox Court House. The "Experiment in Rebellion" at long last puffed out. Lee went home to honor and glory. Davis went to jail and "was kept in irons in solitary confinement under the most brutal possible treatment in Fortress Monroe. . . . In that other lost spring, with sweet wisteria then as now in its brief, dramatic bloom, when he stood slender and erect, his brown hair brushed back from his fine forehead, Davis had personified the ideals in their experiment when it was young and lordly. Now, attenuated and white, his filmed eyes peering out from a mass of wrinkles, he now embodied the failure of their legend."

*Experiment in Rebellion* is a delightful book well worth the attention of readers who shamelessly confess that they are on the lookout for a writer whose graceful style, narrative unity, unexpected highlights, sympathetic understanding, and honest presentation of carefully selected facts make of history something more than a cold morgue of scientific data. (JOSEPH L. O'BRIEN)

FARNUM, MABEL. *The Sacred Scimitar: Life of Blessed John de Brito.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1946. Pp. xiii, 168. $2.50.)

This slender volume tells the story of the life of John de Brito, a Jesuit missionary who was born in Portugal in 1647, martyred in India in 1693, and canonized in 1947. His family was of high station in Lisbon with the result that John's early days were spent in and about the royal court. Here, as a page, he met his life-long friend, Peter, who later became King Peter II of Portugal. At the age of sixteen, De Brito entered the Society of Jesus, having overcome the lamentations of his widowed mother and the protests of his courtly friends. St. Francis Xavier, his great countryman, was John's hero and patron, whose life-story awakened in the lad a zeal for the missions and an ambition for martyrdom. John's missionary vocation was sorely tested by the almost frenzied opposition of his mother who enlisted the influence of the court and the papal nuncio on her side. The climax of this opposition was reached in the audience granted to John by the papal nuncio. The account of how John dispelled his opposition is one of the high points in the story. He continued his theological and missionary studies at Goa in India. At the completion of his course, his superiors offered him the chair of philosophy, but John declined, revealing for the first time, the secret of his life: "I have come to India . . . for martyrdom."

For thirteen years De Brito labored in the province of Madura. He encountered indescribable hardships from the climate and terrain of the land, the ignorance and superstition of the caste-ridden people, the jealousy of the rulers, and the implacable enmity of the Brahmin priests. John was finally captured, tortured, and deported under sentence of death if he should return. His return to Lisbon was a glorious event. He was welcomed by his mother, by the king and queen, by his fellow-Jesuits and countrymen as a living martyr. He stayed two years in Portugal going from place to place lecturing on the missions, winning recruits, and gaining financial support for the missions. His determination to return to India developed into a contest of wills between himself and the king and queen. The royal couple did all they could to compel him to stay at home but they did not succeed. John arrived back in India in 1690 and on February 4, 1693, he was beheaded by order of King Mourougapapoullei.

Apparently this story was beyond the art of the story-teller. She failed to do justice to her material. Here is a tale of magnificent and mounting courage in the midst of colorful and romantic circumstances: the royal court of Portugal, the papal court, the kings and princes of strange India, long sea voyages, and the scheming and wicked high priests. Yet in this narrative the personalities move off and on the stage as through a turnstile; and the change of scenes is as if through a slide-projector. The author uses a very plain style and her method is that of a chronicle; there is an average of eight paragraphs to each small page. There is change but little movement and no momentum in the telling of her story. One feels that literary justice has not been done to the subject, the story, or the setting.

Furthermore, the absence of critical judgment in relation to the thaumaturgic character of the saint's miracles and legends, leads one to suppose that the book was intended for "younger readers." Numerous names of persons and places, unpronouncable because of their incredible length, are set down with a total

disregard for the reader. Such devises, were they provided, would have been a courtesy to the readers and, perhaps, would have warranted the charging of $2.50 for the volume. As it stands, a pamphlet at 25c would reflect more prestige on the story, the writer, and the publisher. (TIMOTHY J. CARMODY)

FRANKFORT, H. and H. A., JOHN A. WILSON, THORKILD JACOBSEN and WILLIAM A. IRWIN. *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man. An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. Pp. vii, 401. $4.00.)

These essays represent a joint project by a group of distinguished specialists of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. The lectures originally given in the Humanities Division are now published with only minor changes. The adventure brings the reader into three sections of the ancient Orient: Egypt, treated by John A. Wilson; Mesopotamia, by Thorkild Jacobsen; the Hebrews, by William A. Irwin. The authors explore three topics in their respective spheres: the nature of the universe, the concept of the state, the values of life. The introductory and concluding chapters of the book were written by H. and H. A. Frankfort.

Mr. Wilson writes of Egypt in a vivid, pleasing style. He shows how the Egyptian attained an idea of the world and its creation in terms of his own observation and experience, with the central fact being the Nile. The utterly free and unembarrassed "contradictions" that we find in the Egyptian concepts, e.g., gods who are at once men and falcons, etc., is explained on the hypothesis (as Wilson freely admits) of consubstantiality. The Egyptians were "monophysites" or practical monists. The author treats of the Egyptian theories of creation, constellation of divinities, the person and rule of the king—all with a judicious combination of caution, honesty, and scholarship.

Thorkild Jacobsen ably interprets for the reader the less familiar myths of Enlil and Ninlil, Inanna, and the Tilmun myth, as well as the famous Enuma Elish. In the light of these he explains the Mesopotamian views on deity and government. The values of the good life are illustrated by the Babylonian Job and the Dialogue of Pessimism.

Mr. Irwin skillfully unfolds the permanent values bequeathed to western civilization through Israel: ethical monotheism, the rich concept of wisdom, unity of man and his relations to God, law as based on God's nature and will, the concept of history and its philosophy, the primacy of the individual. But the religion of Israel is ultimately viewed on the same level as Egypt or Mesopotamia; accordingly, the supernatural element in the Bible is ruled out, although the term "divine revelation" is used. In addition the books of the Old Testament are subjected to the critic's knife with marked abandon. The author adopts the favorite theses, new and old, of rationalism: Israel's covenant is an invention, Yahweh was originally a mere tribal god, the prophets created Israel's theology, etc. There are serious mistakes here along with much that is good.

This type of work, a high class synthesis of the results of modern research into the cultural life of the ancient world, supplies a real need. The student should find the adventure into this little known world a stimulating one. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

GIBB, H. A. R. *Modern Trends in Islam.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 141. $2.50.)

This volume is the fruit of the Haskell Lectures in Comparative Religion delivered at the University of Chicago by H. A. R. Gibb, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. In six chapters Mr. Gibb analyzes modern Islamic thought. To this end the first two chapters interpret Muslim mentality in the light of the normative and basic principles of Islamic theology. Most important is the discussion of the ancient principles *ijmā'* (consensus) and *ijtihād* (exercise of judgment), advanced in order to justify a reorientation of Islam. The remaining chapters are taken up with an exposé and critique of modernism, as represented by the schools of Muhammad Abduh (Egypt) and Sir Muhammad Iqbāl (India). The modernists are the reaction of the Muslim world to the impact of western culture and liberalism. The Muslims, with few exceptions, still accept the Koran as the very word of God. Western philosophy and science, social customs and law, are a severe challenge to the ideals of the Koran. Hence the dilemma facing the believer. The modernists have tried to solve this especially by the reformulation of Islamic teaching in terms of modern thought (often fanciful) and the reformation of outmoded Koranic social institutions.

Mr. Gibb presents the approach of the modernists (more radical in India) to these questions and singles out a very evident flaw, the lack of a sober historical method, but he entertains high hopes that this will be rectified. In view of the author's frank admission of the central importance of religious experience and the metaphorical and symbolic content of Christianity, it can be said that he interprets modernist Muslim thought in terms of the "Protestantism" of Islam—not that Islam is to become more Christian, but less Koranic and more rationalistic, according to spiritual taste and the progress of knowledge. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

HACKER, LOUIS M. *The Shaping of the American Tradition.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. xxiv, 1247. Textbook edition. $6.00.)

One notion which becomes more and more nearly an ideal for any teacher is that of finding—or better still, writing—the one text which will answer all the requirements of a given course. To a teacher of history, the duties of editor and compiler would have to be added to that of a writer, for nearly all history courses require not only a sound text, but a good coverage of the documents and the contemporary writings of the period treated. Professor Hacker, who has been teaching the second half of the contemporary civilization course at Columbia College, has realized this ambition, and has drawn up, in *The Shaping of the American Tradition,* just such a textbook.

The book is, in the reviewer's opinion, admirably planned. At the conclusion of a general introduction, Hacker has divided the subject-matter into eleven parts, each of which includes its own introductory text and its own relevant documents. From the viewpoint of arrangement alone, this volume deserves commendation, and it is to be hoped that further volumes for similar courses will follow its example. At the conclusion of his 1240 pages of textual and docu-

mentary material, the compiler has added two indices, one of authors, and one of titles, which should make the book useful either as a reference or as a classroom text.

In his general introduction, Hacker, after puncturing once again the Turner theory, explains with force and clarity that the American tradition has been shaped by a number of factors in addition to that uniqueness which Turner claimed. These factors include religious freedom, freedom of enterprise, the weak state idea, equality of opportunity, the strength of the American middle class, the democratic institutions of the United States, and the existence of parties and pressure groups. Certainly no fault could be found with this selection except on the basis of exclusion. It is obvious from the introduction that the book is intended to be an exploration of the extent to which each one of these factors has contributed to the formation of what may now be called, quite properly, the American tradition. To facilitate examination of these factors and their results, each division of the text is considered under the separate headings of the American Mind, the American Scene, American Problems, and the United States and the World.

Perhaps it is hardly to be expected that in a work of this magnitude the Protestant Revolt should be referred to in terms other than the usual ones of praise for having "cut the individual loose from the penitential system of the Catholic Church," in which the "ideal medieval man was the ascetic of the monastery who eschewed all this world's goods and who prayed for his fellow Christians." The words quoted, however, indicate the dangers inherent in the publication of a work of this type: too sweeping generalizations, too facile—and therefore false—dichotomies. Another objection may be adduced; until the period following the Civil War, no Supreme Court opinion is quoted, and it is seriously to be questioned whether either Marshall or Taney, not to mention Story, Kent, Field, or a number of others, had nothing to do with the shaping of the American tradition, as their exclusion would seem to imply.

These are the most serious defects in the book, easily understandable in view of its nature and format. On the whole, it is a volume to be welcomed, and used with gratitude for the excellent work done both by the author and by the press. (Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer)

Hemmen, Alcuin A., O.S.B. *The Concept of Religious Tolerance in the Novels of Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 1945. Pp. 134. $1.50.)

Among non-Catholics of America and Europe the great historical novels of the Austrian Baroness Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (born 1871) unfortunately are, generally speaking, almost unknown. The probable reason for this is the fact that Handel-Mazzetti's works are strongly Catholic and militantly Christian. Religious strife in victories, defeats, privation, and suffering characterize the relations and motivations of all persons involved in the long novels of this Austrian novelist. Handel-Mazzetti appeals probably only to a limited group of readers. Her language is usually that of the age of the historical novel, the language of the people, vigorous, simple, plain, often with dialectic color.

It was the task of Father Hemmen to show that Handel-Mazzetti does not deserve to be suspected of partisanship, of liberal religious tendencies, of doctrinal religious tolerance, of lacking religious respect and orthodoxy, of a desire to expose weakness in Catholic Church history. The purpose of Father Hemmen's study is to demonstrate that Handel-Mazzetti's novels are, in an exemplary way, deeply Catholic and Christian, an honor to the Catholic cause and a credit to Catholic artistic achievement in the field of literature. He succeeded in his goal, certainly for those who still entertain any shadow of doubt about Handel-Mazzetti's position within the Catholic faith. Personally, the reviewer thinks her message of tolerance did not need an elaborate illustration, since the idea of personal religious tolerance in the novels of the baroness is obvious. But there still are occasionally timid souls who hesitate to consider her a really sincere Catholic author.

Father Hemmen begins his study appropriately with a good bibliographical introduction and a brief biography of Handel-Massetti. He then looks back into the years preceding the literary activity of our novelist to show that she developed from the requirements of Catholic life around 1900 and was aware of the contemporary issues. Before he plunges into a full discussion of his topic, Father Hemmen wisely establishes the Catholic axiom on religious tolerance, quoting especially Father Joseph Pohle and reminding us of traditional religious liberalism in Austria (Josephism) and the philosophy of modernism.

Handel-Mazzetti should interest especially the readers of a Catholic historical review. Her knowledge of history, her perusal of original documents, and her presentation of her cultural background of the times are well-nigh perfect. Contrary to Father Hemmen's opinion, she does not seem to have lost, in recent years, her old power of artistic creation. It is true that she seems to repeat her main gospel of religious tolerance, but she has expanded it into that of inter-credal confidence and practical Christian co-operation and this is pertinent in the present-day struggle against atheistic forces in the world. Thus she is meeting also the "one world" idea of today.

We are grateful to Father Hemmen for having given us in English this study of a definite aspect in the works of Handel-Mazzetti and also for his efforts to make her better known in the English-speaking countries. Father Hemmen, by the way, just published a brief outline of Handel-Mazzetti's life and works in *Monatshefte*, the official organ of the German Section of the Modern Language Association of the Central West and South (December, 1946, pp. 449-462). Father Hemmen has added to his dissertation a very fine bibliography. The printing is carefully done. He is now engaged in a study of Gertrud von Le Fort. (PAUL G. GLEIS)

HOGAN, WILLIAM RANSOM. *The Texas Republic: A Social and Economic History*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 338. $3.00.)

Since 1934 Dr. Hogan has contributed to southern reviews and journals a number of competent articles on the early Southwest. His, obviously, is no fleeting interest in the social and economic life of the Texas Republic. Indeed, many more than a dozen years of preparation are behind his notable achievement.

Readers will perceive at once that the author has sifted with care a large quantity of primary unpublished sources, the yield of extra-Texan as well as Lone-Star depositories. In actualizing his project he has wisely allowed such manuscripts to speak for themselves through interwoven and well-chosen quotations; but he has shirked none of the labors of the formal historian, the best of whose qualities are in plain evidence on almost every page of the volume. Capably, too, he clarifies the content of contemporary letters, journals, reports, and reminiscences with the aid of published primary and secondary materials. Dr. Hogan, therefore, has done much more than to unify a series of colorful brief essays on the manners and community affairs of the Texas frontier. With genuine insight, a fine sense of balance, and unfailing good humor, he has integrated the minute with the major phenomena of his two-fold study to produce an authoritative panorama that amazes by its many-sidedness and delights by the perfection of most of its individual parts. And because the feat he has performed also exhibits a high degree of literary competence, it is doubly admirable.

Perhaps it is too much to expect that all who employ and enjoy this work will unqualifiedly applaud his selection of less significant topics and his distribution of emphasis. Some will complain that matters of special import in their view have not been accorded more extensive notice. They may consider insufficiently stressed, for example, the influence of republican society and economy of such factors as President Lamar's imperial policies, European immigration, and the Texas-Mexican War of 1842-1843. The historian of a period as piquant and popular as the Texas national decade is in the trying position of the anthologist who must restrict or exclude as well as include appealing materials. Doubtless, in the present instance, no one will dispute the good sense of giving nuclear treatment and full chapter space to the ten or so topics that are patently basic.

With regret many of Dr. Hogan's readers will note that he has wasted on the ephemeral intrusion of Padre Muldoon half of the single page which records the Catholic re-occupation of Texas. An excerpt of social or economic relevance from the Journal of Bishop Odin would have been more to the point. But they will relish finding the bishop and Father Timon mentioned with factual correctness and, in the accurate appraisal of the German traveler, Ferdinand von Roemer, they will glimpse with satisfaction Odin's zeal and personal charm.

Four accessory features enhance the serviceable character of the volume: maps of the republic in 1836 and 1845, two dozen illustrations of definite visual value, a twenty-eight page bibliography of unusual comprehensiveness, and an adequate index. (RALPH F. BAYARD)

HOLAND, HJALMAR R. *America, 1355-1364: A New Chapter in Pre-Colombian History.* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. Pp. xiv, 256. $4.00.)

Mr. Holand is convincing. Cleverly he has connected the "Tower" at Newport, Rhode Island, and "finds" in Minnesota with an expedition sent out in 1354 by King Magnus of Norway to find countrymen who, after settling in Greenland, were driven out by Eskimos. Paul Knutson, whom the king commissioned to head the excursion, had good reason to believe they had gone to Vinland. Thither he went, establishing his base on Narragansett Bay. Thence he dispatched

a searching party which Mr. Holand believes sailed northward to Labrador and, after rounding that peninsula, eventually entered Hudson Bay. Finding the mouth of the Nelson River, the men moved upstream, southward, and after some portages presently found themselves within the limits of the present state of Minnesota. Beset there by Indians, they fled southeast across the state, leaving behind them varied evidence that Mr. Holand uses to trace their route. Whether the men ever reached their base in Rhode Island he could, of course, not say. There, however, the main body of the expedition built the stone tower which long has passed for almost anything it was not. Mr. Holand proves beyond doubt that it was a fortified round church of a kind that was built in late mediaeval Scandinavia.

Well done as the book is, it has faults that might have been avoided. Of a minor character are Mr. Holand's references to the Goths who long before the viking age had treked from southern Scandinavia across Russia to the shores of the Black Sea, and his confusing the Franks with the French. Some items of his bibliography are of slight value besides being old, such as resort to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* for specifications about altars and the use of candles on them during Mass in the Middle Ages. The modern prescriptions Mr. Holand at time falls back on were not necessarily in force six or seven hundred years ago. Better would have been a perusal of Braun's thorough-going treatises, *Der christliche Altar,* and *Altargerät.* Priests, of course, accompanied the Knutson expedition and its searching party, but there is no reference to their having been in all likelihood Premonstratensians or Norbertines. Would it be well for Mr. Holand to explore their archives in the Vatican and elsewhere for additional data? Finally, why duplicate the rather confusing map of Minnesota backing the covers, when charting the probable route of the searching party from Rhode Island? (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

JOHNSON, F. ERNEST (Ed.). *Foundations of Democracy. A Series of Addresses.* [Religion and Civilization Series.] (New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Distributed by Harper & Bros. 1947. Pp. ix, 278. $2.00.)

This is a symposium of addresses presented in 1944-1945 under the auspices of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. As published, the symposium is the third of a series, whose two earlier volumes also concerned themselves with problems of democracy.

The present discussion was planned to evoke from scholars of different backgrounds and interests statements of the democratic concepts or practice discoverable in their traditions or fields of competence. The editor writes an introductory essay, "depicting the crisis in modern democracy." Then Professor Irwin Edman, in "Classical Origins," places special stress on the natural-law concept of Roman stoicism. Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, speaking for Hebrew tradition, sees democratic significance in the creation-account of Genesis, lay synagogue scholarship, and the democratic practice of the mediaeval ghetto. In "Medieval Sources," Dr. George N. Shuster finds the mediaeval Christian

concept of man to have been the guarantee of a basic democratic spirit in spite of certain undemocratic attitudes and actions. Professor John T. McNeill, too, in "Reformation Sources," admits the debt of Protestant democratic notions "to democratic elements in the church and society of earlier ages."

Writing on "Humanistic Sources," Dean Horace M. Kallen of the New School for Social Research, favors a "pluralistic, empirical, and libertarian" definition of humanism, and he believes this to be synonymous with democracy. On the other hand, Professor Amos N. Wilder maintains, in "Literary Sources," that literature has contributed most to democratic ideals when it has been securely rooted in the teachings of the "Hebraic-Christian faith." Among the "Founding Fathers," Father Moorhouse F. X. Millar, S.J., places more emphasis upon James Wilson than upon Jefferson, but he points out the debt which all owed to mediaeval political philosophy. George H. Houston presents a moderate defense of economic liberalism, and A. J. Muste, of American unionism; which unionism, according to the essay of Professor Goodwin B. Watson, is quite compatible with democratic ideals.

Constant education, contends Dr. Scott Buchanan of St. John's College, is necessary for freedom because the intellect must always know the alternatives from which it is to choose. Professor Harrison S. Elliott favors greater collaboration of children and superiors in family, church, and school as a training in democratic practice. The editor contributes a second lecture on "Democratic Conceptions of Authority, Revelation and Prophecy," based on a Protestant concept of those terms; while Dean Mordecai M. Kaplan presents, in "Democracy and Zionism" a handy and, naturally, sympathetic sketch of that Jewish movement. It remains for Professor Justin Wroe Nixon, in "Democracy and Ethical Realism," and Dr. H. Paul Douglass, in "Organized Religion and the Practice of Democracy," to indicate some respects in which we fall short of our democratic ideals in their social and ecclesiastical implementation, and to suggest some remedies for this condition.

Because the lecturers were apparently not provided with even a working definition of democracy, they were all under an initial disadvantage. But since the book claims to be only a collection of individual, and indeed sometimes irreconciliable opinions, it cannot be said to have failed in its purpose. The Catholic reader may feel that Dr. Schuster's semi-apologetic approach was not entirely called for, and disagree with his implication that the evolution of Adam's body is entirely acceptable from a Catholic viewpoint (p. 37). Even more will the Catholic reader dissent from the zealous—I had almost said dogmatic—secularism of Dean Kallen. But a chief merit of such a collection is that one essay can correct another. And it is reassuring to find elsewhere in the book more modest and less superficial discussions which serve as unconscious correctives of some of Dean Kallen's assertions and conclusions. Among the most thoughtful of these are the chapters by McNeill, Edman, Finkelstein, Wilder, and Father Millar. But in other discussions, too, the general reader can find enough sober considerations to make this whole collection of war-time essays, though now in certain respects dated, still moderately stimulating. (Robert F. McNamara)

JONES, LESLIE WEBBER. *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings by Cassiodorus Senator translated with an Introduction and Notes.* [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, No. 40. Edited by Austin P. Evans], (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 233. $3.00.)

Volume by volume Columbia's Records of Civilization have become monumental both in respect of the character of the works included in the series and their number. The present number is exceptional in its importance. As Professor Jones noted in his introduction, Cassiodorus "preserved in sound form for generations to come both the Fathers of the church and the ancient Latin authors; this twofold culture might of course have survived somehow without the aid of Cassiodorus, but, as it is, the credit should go primarily to him." Add to this service the bibliographical guidance and inspiration afforded mediaeval librarians and the helpfulness of *Readings* to mediaeval students, points also made by Professor Jones. "In him (Cassiodorus), as in few other men, the ancient and the mediaeval world were closely united. In his striving to bind together the culture of Rome and the vigor of Germany he played a most important part in history."

The translation is exceptionally well done. In the few cases in which we were at first inclined to disagree with the rendering of the most recent and generally accepted text, that of Mynors, in the end we came to agree with Professor Jones. Well done, too, is the introduction he wrote. Noted in it are Cassiodorus' career, his influence on the culture of the Middle Ages, particularly the effort made to discover the fate of the books Cassiodorus collected for his monks at Vivarium, and the notices of the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Readings*. If we must quarrel with the translator, let it be about such relatively minor matters as the use of the title, emperor, for Theodoric, of "St. Emmeran" for St. Emmeram, and the wild use of *ibid.* in the footnotes. Perhaps, too, we might reasonably object to the inclusion in the bibliography of a secondary item of very secondary character and the omission of several scholarly works. Obviously, we found little to find fault with. Of great value is the appendix dealing with readings of certain Cassiodorian texts with reference to his commonplaces, the four elements, and the principles of geometry. For the correction of statements the translator made in his introduction, and also for additions, he refers the reader to his article, "Further Notes on Cassiodorus' Influence on Medieval Culture" in *Speculum*. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

JUGIE, MARTINUS, A. A. *De Forma Eucharistiae: De Epiclesibus Eucharisticis.* (Roma: Officium Libri Catholici. 1943. Pp. 142.)

The distinctive characteristic of this dissertation on the age-old question of the meaning of the Epiclesis in the Mass is indicated by the sub-title of the book, which declares the purpose of the author to treat not merely of the Epiclesis, in the singular number, but of the various Epicleses in the liturgy. In common with the other sacraments, in the confection of the Blessed Eucharist, the sacramental effect is asked for not only in the essential form of the sacrament, but repeatedly in prayers both before and after the significant words,

which are pronounced at the instant that the effect of the sacrament is wrought, in the case of the Mass, at the very moment of consecration. So, there are different examples of the Epiclesis in the liturgy. There is the so-called consecratory Epiclesis, which calls upon the Holy Spirit, occasionally upon the Divine Word or the Blessed Trinity, to change the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. In addition, there are various impetratory Epicleses begging several times for an effect, which has already been produced or is about to come into being.

The author aims to show that the Catholic teaching of consecration by the words of institution rests upon the consistent teaching of tradition, both patristic and liturgical, supported by the writings and ancient ceremonial books of the dissidents themselves. The contention of schismatic Eastern Churches that the moment of consecration is not that of the words of institution but a subsequent invocation of the Holy Spirit, is demonstrated to be of comparatively recent origin, being born of the controversies between East and West, which have arisen since the thirteenth century, whenever there has been question of reunion between the Catholic and dissident churches. (WILLIAM J. LALLOU)

KLEIST, JAMES A., S.J. (Translator and Annotator), Professor of Classical Languages, St. Louis University. *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch.* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Bookshop. 1946. Pp. ix, 162. $2.50.)

There never has been a Catholic translation of the fathers in English and two members of the School of Sacred Theology of the Catholic University of America, Father Quasten and Father Plumpe, have made up their minds to remedy this lamentable deficiency in our theological literature. All honor to their courage and enterprise! They promise us not only the Greek and Latin but also the oriental "Ancient Christian Writers." They have been very happy in their choice both of a publisher and of the scholar to inaugurate the series. The Newman Bookshop offers a truly beautiful item at a moderate price. As for the author of the present volume, the reviewer knows no one who has devoted more years of affectionate study or who brings keener insight to the specific problem presented by the Apostolic Fathers, the exact rendition of Koine Greek, than Father Kleist. His version needs no praise of mine; his name is sufficient commendation.

The present work, a first installment of the Apostolic Fathers, contains the Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch. A general introduction to each deals briefly but adequately with the life of the writer, with questions of authenticity, style, content, and theological importance, states the text used, and adds a bibliography of previous translations. The rich annotation explains allusions and obscurities, identifies the quotations, calls attention to significant points of doctrine, ascetical, moral or dogmatic, and makes the suggestive linguistic and literary remarks that only Father Kleist can make in this special domain.

This fine volume is a notable inaugural to a notable undertaking. (MARTIN J. HIGGINS)

LEVIE, J., S.J., and E. BERGH, S.J. (Eds.). *Le Pape Pie XII et La Guerre. Cahiers de La Nouvelle Revue Théologique.* (Tournai-Paris: Casterman. 1946. Pp. 123. 42 francs.)

The purpose of the editors of this volume was to collect and to arrange the documents which express the Holy Father's thoughts on the war and the conditions of peace. They do not pretend to give a historical or doctrinal commentary on the papal teachings or to record the unofficial efforts of the Pope for peace. They recognized that in the disorder and censorship of the war the voice of the Pope often failed to reach the people. Thus, they proposed to give greater currency to the papal teachings and when the *Nouvelle revue théologique* resumed publication, this book first appeared in its pages.

The editors explain the difficulties of the Holy Father's duties to treat the combatants as his children and to uphold the moral law. They group the papal interventions under the following headings: (1) charitable actions and efforts in behalf of peace, including efforts to prevent the war and to limit it as well as protests in behalf of invaded countries and attempts to maintain the rules of war; (2) defence of morality against the primacy of force; (3) the foundations of a new world order, including the principles of social reconstruction within each state; (4) appeal for moral and religious reform.

The work of arranging has been well done and reveals the extraordinary comprehensiveness and cohesion of the papal teachings. The brief account (pp. 18-24) of the relations of the Vatican and the Italian state from 1939 to 1941 is informative, although one incident concerning Ribbentrop (p. 20) is not properly identified. (MATTHEW A. FITZSIMONS)

MACIVER, R. M. (Ed.). *Unity and Difference in American Life.* (New York: Published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Distributed by Harper & Brothers. 1947. Pp. 168. $2.00.)

In this volume three writers discuss "The Common Ground" in the United States; four essayists devote themselves to four "Dividing Issues" (racial, ethnic, economic, religious); and five seek to tell what the schools, the press, business, courts and "we all can do" about these issues.

The purpose of the meeting at which these papers were read was to discuss co-operation and fellowship. Naturally there is an obligation upon all of us to promote national unity and to respect sincerity in those who differ from us. This reviewer admits that he is not too impressed with the volume as a whole. Gerald W. Johnson on the "Press" and Edward L. Bernays on "Business" are practical and down to earth.

The law for the Catholic is clear in his own religion: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor." Admittedly, he often fails to observe the law. He smiles, however, when he reads in a book intended to promote co-operation that what his Church teaches him is a delusion. Clyde R. Miller, founder of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, sets out four basic delusions which must be gotten rid of. "The first is the delusion that one's own church, cult, sect, or group has all the answers, that only it represents God's will on earth, and that only what it tells people

reveals God's purposes" (p. 110). L. K. Frank contends that "for the first time" we have "the relatively new problem of how we are to conduct our interpersonal relationships with others as *persons*, . . . that we have had little or no practice in acting toward others, as *personalities*" (p. 37). He might consult St. Francis of Assisi or Christ Himself.

Catholics as well as others can profit from the "minor point" which V. Stefansson calls to our attention that "when we call ourselves Americans, we irritate all the Latin-American nations" (p. 68). (WILLIAM H. RUSSELL)

MACNAIR, HARLEY FARNSWORTH (Ed.), Professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions in the University of Chicago. *China*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 573. $6.50.)

This is a symposium of the United Nations Series which has been written by thirty-three individuals well known in their respective fields. It is divided into six parts: background; historical and political development; philosophy and religion; the arts, literature and education; economics and reconstruction; retrospect and prospect. The book is illustrated by fifteen plates, five drawings in text, and two maps, and is enriched by notes and references, a selected bibliography, and an index.

As one might expect in a work of this sort, the thirty-four chapters vary in value and style. Some chapters are scholarly treatises, others appear to be intelligent popularizations, while still others are journalistic articles. Part Two embodies some of the best chapters. "Antiquity: To the Fall of Shang," by L. C. Goodrich, is a piece of solid scholarship, save for the unwarranted opinion on the pre-human nature of *Sinanthropus* (p. 42). In the fifth chapter Ch'ên Mêng-chia presents a remarkable study on "The Greatness of Chou." Professor MacNair outlines expertly "The Republic: Phase of War-Lordism (1911-1928)." The next chapter by P. M. A. Linebarger and R. E. Hosack, treats "The Republic: Phase of Resurgence (1928-1946)," omitting, however, a much-needed critical history and interpretation of Chinese communism, apparently on the assumption that the task was entrusted to the writer of the following chapter.

But Agnes Smedley turned her chapter on "The Social Revolution" into a glorification of Chinese communism along strictly Moscovite lines. This essay is but a piece of cheap communistic propaganda, stuffed with countless misrepresentations and half-truths, making of the reds champions of social welfare and justice. On the contrary, for twenty years they converged their efforts toward killing their countrymen—most of them destitute or near-destitute—and burning, destroying, and looting their property. The reds, according to the author, had special reasons for killing missionaries and destroying missions: "The Red Army charged that missionaries and native Christians were connected with imperialism and acted as spies for foreign Powers. Some doubtless did, and a few engaged in propaganda activities in conjunction with the Kuomintang armies" (p. 173). The "Long March" of the communists in 1934 is described in epic terms (p. 174). Incidentally, during that march the red criminals killed a close friend of the reviewer's, Father E. Pegoraro, O.F.M., a zealous missionary and brilliant linguist, for the sole guilt of having devoted his life to the care of Chinese and Lolo lepers at Mo-hsi-mien on the borders of Tibet.

"Folk Religion" is a masterly treatise on popular Chinese religion by L. Hodous, a recognized authority. "Confucianism" (J. C. Shryock), "Non-Confucianism" (Ch'ên Jung-chieh), "Taoism" (H. H. Dubs), "Buddhism" (C. H. Hamilton), "Christianity" (K. S. Latourette), and "Trends in Contemporary Philosophy" (Ch'ên Jung-chieh) form the learned themes of the following chapters of this section.

Apart from the Smedley essay—which echoes the press releases of *Isvetzia* and *Pravda*—and some compositions of a light nature, the book is a mine of reliable information and interpretation of Chinese history and culture. (SISTO A. ROSSO)

MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT. *Operations in North African Waters: October, 1942-June, 1943.* Volume II. *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1947. Pp. xxviii, 297. $5.00.)

Although this is numbered Volume II it is the first to be published of thirteen projected volumes. Soon after the Pearl Harbor attack, Samuel Eliot Morison, Jonathan Trumbull professor of American history at Harvard, proposed to the Navy Department that he be given an opportunity to write a narrative of the war at sea. In making this suggestion, Morison asked that his history be considered an unofficial one and that he be given complete freedom as an historian to comment upon and criticize the actions of individual commanders, the over-all strategy of the war, and the policies of the Navy Department itself. He asked that he be given complete access to naval records and that he be given assistants in his work. In asking for these special privileges he made it plain that he did not desire to profit from the project and he proposed that although the history be published by an established publishing house, the author's royalties should not accrue to him. He was commissioned in the Navy as a lieutenant commander in May, 1942, and began at once to obtain the background for his work by going to sea in various types of vessels and observing naval operations at first hand. In July, 1942, he crossed the Atlantic and returned with a troop convoy. Not long afterward he participated in the North African assault, and he or his assistants participated in almost every major action after 1942. The present volume is a well written, graphic account of the problems of planning and executing one of the largest and most complex amphibious operations in history. The book is well illustrated, well supplied with maps, and has a good index. Unquestionably this is the most scholarly, the most comprehensive, the most accurate, and the best documented volume on the naval war which has appeared to date.

Morison was promoted to commander, and later to captain, before being demobilized by the Navy in September, 1946. He has resumed his academic duties, but is continuing work on his history. He has a small staff of eight assistants. Volume I of this series is expected to appear in September of this year and the other volumes should come from the publishers by the end of 1950. (JOHN B. HEFFERNAN)

MULLINS, JOSEPH A. *The Ragpickers' Priest.* (Cork: Mercier Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 103. $1.50.)

This brief biography of a French parish priest, who was both mystic and man of action, is intended mainly as a spiritual, not an historical, work. Nevertheless it possesses value for the student of modern French history, as showing the significant accomplishments of one priest whose work was in some way typical of the present-day struggle of the French Church to win the youth from the toils of freemasonry and communism. Jean-Edouard Lamy, like his forerunner the Curé of Ars whom he closely resembles, came from solid peasant stock. His youthful desire to become a parish priest was thwarted for many years by economic difficulties at home. As a result, he began his apostolate to win youth to the Church as a conscript in the French army, and later as a lay-teacher in an institute for young men directed by the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales. Eventually he was able to enter the priesthood, where he continued his youth activities and also established a flourishing men's club, no mean achievement in the anti-clerical France of 1900. Father Lamy's parochial work was centered in the poverty-stricken outskirts of Paris, inhabited by ragpickers, petty thieves, and ex-convicts. That he was able, despite the increasing inroads of failing health and semi-blindness, to turn his parish into a decent, God-respecting community, is sufficient reason for praise. But this was only one of the outlets of his measureless zeal. He was also founder of a well known pilgrimage center at Violot, dedicated to Our Lady of the Woods. In his last years (he died in 1931), after enforced retirement from the parochial ministry, he crowned his life's work by the establishment of a new religious institute, the Servants of Jesus and Mary, whose sole object is to carry on its founder's work of winning French youth for the Church. (WILLIAM KELLER)

MURPHY, RICHARD T., O.P. (Trans.). *Père Lagrange and the Scriptures.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1947. Pp. viii, 216. $3.75.)

This volume is a translation of five articles written by French scholars in 1935 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Lagrange's ordination to the priesthood. To these has been added a memorial written by Father Murphy at the time of the distinguished exegete's death. The articles of Chaine, Vénard, Bardy, and Magnin (the names are a guarantee of excellence) are of particular interest to one who is looking for a comprehensive view of Lagrange's work, and Father Murphy has done a service to the memory of his former master by his good translation. One feels grateful that he—unlike some other American translators—has included in his translation the notes of the original articles. Perhaps the greatest value of the book is in these notes, for they direct one to those places where full examination can be made of the conclusions which are, of necessity, simply indicated in the text.

That part of Chaine's article which deals with Lagrange's view on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is of particular interest because of the difficulty involved in accepting that view as it was expressed in the conference on "Les Sources du Pentateuque," given at Fribourg in 1897, and published the following year in the *Revue Biblique.* At that time, the decree of the Biblical

Commission on the matter had not been issued; it would seem that in the light of that decree Lagrange's view cannot be accepted without reservations. At all events, the fact is that certain authors, giving a history of the Pentateuchal criticism among Catholics, distinguish between a pre-decree and post-decree period, and list Lagrange among those whose position was repudiated by the decree. Chaine gives the views expressed in "Les Sources," mentions the decree, and then dismisses the matter by saying that Lagrange "did not feel himself qualified to propose . . . . his own distinction between the substantial authenticity of Mosaic legislation, and the modifications which under divine guidance developed in the course of time." (This was written, of course, before the posthumous article of Lagrange which appeared in the *Revue Biblique* for 1938.) Is one to conclude that Chaine believes that Lagrange's view could have been maintained after the decree, or that changes had to be introduced into it? There would seem to be a conscious effort to avoid being definite.

Since there is reason to suppose that this book will be used by many of the educated Catholic laity who will not have the opportunity to examine the problem in any detail, and who will be inclined to accept the conclusions of our greatest recent exegete without question, one would wish that Father Murphy had at least indicated that a difficulty does exist. Certainly, Lagrange's work is too magnificent, his reputation as a devoted son of the Church as well as a first-class scholar too well established for anyone to fear that the high regard in which all thinking Catholics hold him would be lessened by a frank discussion of the compatibility of his earlier views on Mosaic authorship with the decree of the Biblical Commission. (MYLES M. BOURKE)

NELSON, BRUCE. *Land of the Dacotahs.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1946. Pp. 354. $3.75.)

In his acknowledgments the author states that "in some respects this book is not strictly a history at all." It is, perhaps, best described as a very readable sketch of the dramatic highlights of the history of the upper Missouri Valley, a pageant in lively prose for the general reader. For the most part, the book is developed about short sketches of the more colorful figures of the times: La Vérendrye, the explorer, is followed by Mike Fink, the keelboatman, and Hugh Glass, the hunter. Major Long introduces the steamboat and the gold strikes that boomed it. Alexander McKenzie figures in both the boisterous politics of the territorial period and the railroad politics of early statehood. Calamity Jane, Custer, Sitting Bull, the Marquis de Mores—all pass in review, representing the various phases and stages of the development of the upper Missouri. The most important figure in the history of the area is represented by a fictional character, one Thor Ericsson, upon whom is visited in unbroken succession all the hardships of the early settler: prairie fire, blizzard, grasshoppers, drought, dust, hail, Indians, and isolation. Thor succumbed.

The author's treatment of the Indians is not only sympathetic, but nostalgic. This, perhaps, explains the lack of any mention of the missionary. In a short chapter on the original inhabitants Mr. Nelson concludes: "In short, save for

their superior social and economic institutions, they were discouragingly like white men." Another chapter, "The Revenge of Crow King," is simply an Indian tale involving revolt against the medicine men.

The figure of Jim Hill and his land policy leads into the story of the railroads and their power, the over-expansion of wheat farming, the revolt of t' · farmers, and the formation of the Non-Partisan League. This is developed broadly and with clarity, without any detailed analysis of the forces at work. The final chapter is devoted to the very recent history of plans for the Missouri Valley—the Pick and Sloan plans and the proposed MVA. There is a brief bibliography and a boldly labeled outline map of Montana and the Dakotas. (PETER BECKMAN)

OSGOOD, CHARLES, CHRISTIAN GAUSS, HUGH STOTT TAYLOR, ROBERT R. ROOT, DONALD D. EGBERT, WALTER E. HOPE, CHAUNCEY BELKNAP. *The Modern Princeton.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. vii, 159. $2.50.)

In 1896, the 150th anniversary of the College of New Jersey, as Princeton University had been known up to that time, was duly celebrated. One of the best institutional histories in America, *Princeton 1746-1896* by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, marked the occasion. The volume at hand takes the story of Princeton down to the present. However, it is a very different kind of book. It does not give a chronological narrative nor does it attempt a comprehensive treatment of all phases of Princeton history during this period. It gives us rather seven very readable essays by as many distinguished Princetonians in an attempt to deal with important segments of Princeton life as they have developed in the last fifty years and as they appear today.

Professor Emeritus Charles G. Osgood deals with the topic "This Princeton," a very clever treatment of the various tangible and intangible elements that go to make up this venerable institution of two hundred years. The skeptic will argue that much or most of this essay could with slight modifications be applied to almost any institution of learning of comparable age and reverence. Dr. Osgood, however, stresses one quality of special and peculiar significance—Princeton's perennial hospitality and proverbial good cheer to all comers, also the free and intimate family intercourse throughout the University between old and young, expert and aspirant. The former dean of the college, Christian Gauss discusses "Life on the Campus." The life of social equality between students and members of the teaching staff, hinted at in the previous essay, is brought out more emphatically here. Of special note also is the important part which the undergraduates take in the affairs of the University. Dean Hugh Stott Taylor of the Graduate School, describes "A Community of Scholars," which is really a description of the development of Princeton as a university, a development essentially of the last fifty years.

Teachers will be greatly interested in the essay, "Teachers and Teaching," by Robert K. Root, dean of the faculty, emeritus. He very convincingly sets forth "the principle that effective teaching and fruitful investigation should be, and can be, complementary activities of a single personality, the scholar-teacher; that the most stimulating transmitter of knowledge is the one who is also

actively advancing its frontiers; and that the investigating scholar will best keep his perspective and sense of values if he is spending part of his time in the undergraduate classroom." This essay will be delightful reading, indeed, to those of the teaching staff of the Catholic University of America who for years have been defending this thesis. This essay is also easily the best discussion in print of the so-called "curriculum of concentration" which is attracting the attention of so many Catholic college administrators today.

Donald Drew Egbert, professor of architecture, treats "The Architecture and the Setting" of Princeton, the only illustrated essay of the collection. In this part he presents the pros and cons of collegiate Gothic in a deeply perceptive and thought-provoking treatment of a very controversial subject. The last two essays, "The Trustees" by Walter E. Hope, chairman of the executive committee of the Board of Trustees, and "The Alumni" by Chauncey Belknap are of importance to college and university administrators for the lucid manner in which they present the activities and powers of the trustees and alumni in the affairs of the University. Two facts are especially worthy of note. The trustees are in the great majority of instances Princeton alumni; also, the alumni are very influential and have much more power than is usual in the administration of the institution. All Princetonians will, of course, wish to read this book. All college and university administrators will find it stimulating and useful. (Roy J. Deferrari)

Parks, Brother E. Patrick, F.S.C. *The Roman Rhetorical Schools as a Preparation for the Courts of the Early Empire.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXIII. Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1945. Pp. 122. $1.25.)

The purpose of this monograph is to study the question of the relations between the rhetorical schools and the practical use of rhetorical training in the law courts under the early Empire. Our standard histories of Latin literature have long maintained without qualification that there was very little or no scope for freedom of expression under the empire and that a free, practical use of oratory in the republican sense was impossible. Furthermore, the artificiality of Silver Prose style has been explained almost exclusively in terms of a school tradition uncontrolled by the practical experience of the forum. Brother Patrick has challenged the traditional view, and, on the basis of a critical examination of all the widely scattered evidence, he has demonstrated that the traditional view must be considerably modified. Much of the republican freedom of expression continued in the law courts, and one of the primary purposes of the rhetorical schools was to train men for careers as advocates and imperial administrators. The author is probably right also in his contention that the rhetorical schools of the early Empire reflected rather than determined the literary tendencies and tastes of the age. The book is furnished with a bibliographical note and an adequate index.

This solid monograph is a valuable contribution to the history of Roman education and literature. (Martin R. P. McGuire)

PINSON, KOPPEL S. (Ed.). *Essays on Antisemitism.* With a foreword by Salo W. Baron. Revised and enlarged. (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations. 1946. Pp. xi, 269. $2.50.)

*Essays on Antisemitism* is the revised and enlarged edition of a work of the same title published in 1942. The contributors—with the exception of Waldemar Gurian—are all Jewish scholars of recognized competence. The book contains fourteen essays, five of an analytical nature, and nine of an historical and interpretative character. In a brief notice of this kind it is impossible to review the essays individually. In the paper on "Antisemitism in the Post-War World," Dr. Pinson, the editor, in a brief compass faces the problem of antisemitism in the world today, and in an objective fashion he makes note of the factors that will strengthen or do away with antisemitism. The Russian solution he will not accept because it does away with what is specifically Jewish. "The prospects for the free development of Jewish groups are much brighter and the environment more favorable in the United States" (p. 15). Along with the author of the chapter on the "Defenses against Antisemitism," he sees an ethically responsible democratic society as the best suited for an acceptable solution to the problem. Exaggerated nationalism is recognized throughout the work as a factor in the rise of antisemitism. The two essays on the psychology of the movement recognize its emotional nature and uniqueness. Antisemitism is the rare phenomenon of the rationalization of pure hatred. The problem is said to be impossible of rational solution, yet paradoxically enough, to be solved only by "an intelligence which squares with emotions at the same time that it bridles them" (p. 40). In the meanwhile, since this intelligence is of slow growth, the Jews must submit to their "fate with reserve and dignity" (p. 48). The historical essays are accurate presentations of fact with interpretations that are generally warranted. The paper on "The Jews in Medieval Law" is quite superior, and we look forward eagerly to the forthcoming book of the author, Guido Kisch.

This excellent series of essays is marked by one over-all defect: it does not recognize that *antisemitism* is a term that is used only analogically—it has partly the same, and partly different meanings, when applied to different periods of history. This volume well reveals the nature of modern Judaism, which seeks its principle of loyalty not in the ancient, historical, and messianic-centered religion of Moses and the prophets, but in the culture of the dispersed Jews that has arisen on the ruins of the Temple in a Christian world. The value and significance of the work would have been considerably enhanced if this book, published in America but written by men many of whom possess foreign degrees, contained an article on antisemitism in America.

The reviewer noticed only two misprints, e.g., 1937 for 1939 as the date of Pius XII's first encyclical (p. 7n9), "subect" for "subject" (p. 134). Finally, Dr. Reider is naively out of date, when he speaks of the high Middle Ages as "an age of rampant ecclesiasticism and furious sacerdotalism, when reason was garrotted and superstition held full sway. . . ." (p. 93). Every student interested in modern social problems should read this product of mature Jewish scholarship. (ROBERT WILDE)

SANCEAU, ELAINE. *Henry the Navigator. The Story of a Great Prince and His Times.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. 1947. Pp. 318. $3.50.)

This is not a book meant for the historian. For the general reader there is little more of Prince Henry's actual achievements than would be found in any of several encyclopedia articles. Nor, despite the sub-title, is it a story of his times. Much of the book is devoted to the relationships among the members of his family—parents, brothers, and sisters, for Henry never married—whose devotion to one another presents a pleasant and doubtless an unusual picture of royal attachments devoid of jealousies. Yet the author never drops the threads of patience and tenacity in Henry's character, showing how his gentle force slowly and steadily pushed his captains into discovery and rediscovery of the Atlantic islands and beyond them to the exploration of the African coast preparatory to the victory of Vasco da Gama a generation later. Possessed by an objective passion capable of inspiring others, apparently always serene and never harsh, reserved, shuning courtly pomp, he was able to concentrate upon a dual purpose: the conquest of Morocco for Christendom and the persistent desire to know more of the shores and seas beyond that land. His enigmatic personality has aroused controversies as to his primary motive, wisely avoided by the author. Only Henry could tell us and he was notably inarticulate, but the impression the author conveys is that of a man more deeply interested in the pursuit of knowledge of the nature and extent of the world he lived in than in the crusade.

The author is to be commended for pointing out that the legend of a "school of pilots" maintained by Henry is merely a legend, but her concept of what is mediaeval and "unmediaeval" are as disturbing as her antiquated views of the Renaissance. There are no footnotes or other direct reference to sources. The author assures us that the numerous conversations are all translations of words recorded by the chroniclers, principally Zurara. There is a brief bibliography, for the most part without date and place of publication. Unfortunately, the only map is the fanciful decorative lining to the book-covers. (EUGENE H. BYRNE)

SCHOLES, WALTER V. *The Diego Ramírez Visita.* [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XX, No. 4.] (Columbia: University of Missouri. 1946. Pp. 97. $1.25.)

After the conquest of New Spain, the crown gradually and surely took away the powers originally granted to the conquerors. These powers were entrusted to officials of the crown, while the *encomienda* system, based on tribute and a limited amount of personal service, was installed as a means of rewarding the conquerors. Although the tribute exacted was much less than that of the time of the Aztecs, missionaries and Indians frequently complained of the exactions of *encomenderos, corregidores,* and even of the Indian *caciques.* The situation came to a head in 1542 when the "New Laws" were promulgated; but the Spaniards' need of Indian labor and tribute as a means of existence caused the suspension of these laws. From 1542 to the arrival of Viceroy Velasco, the crown attempted to decide how the *encomienda* system should be arranged and

tried to fix a just amount of tribute. During Velasco's time (1550-1564), the tribute question was being especially discussed, and the Diego Ramírez *visita* (1551-1555) came at a time when some solution was devised.

Dr. Scholes, assistant professor of history in the University of Missouri, here presents a study of this *visita*. He discusses the origin and nature of the institution known as the *visita*, gives a biographical sketch of Diego Ramírez which corrects the many errors of the biographical note in the *Cartas de Indias*, presents an account of Spanish administration until 1551 (which includes a careful study of the Aztec and Spanish background and the nature and influence of laws on the *encomienda* system), and finally the *visita* itself.

The territory of this inspection formed a rough triangle whose base ranged from southern Vera Cruz to Pánuco district and whose apex was at Mexico City. Ramírez was instructed: 1) to make certain that the Indians were not overtaxed; 2) to forbid that personal service (which by this date had been legally abolished) be commuted for payment of tribute or included in the tribute lists; 3) to see that excessive tribute already taken be returned to the Indians who had paid it, or their heirs; 4) to be sure that the Indians were not forced to carry the tribute from the town in which they lived to the town where the *encomendero* resided; 5) to make the tribute conform to the "New Laws" and all others on tribute; 6) to punish those who had mistreated the Indians; and 7) if appeals were made from his decisions, to see that they were placed before the *audiencia* of Mexico in the proper form and time. On various occasions, Franciscan and Dominican missionaries had nominated Ramírez for the suggested post of "Protector of the Indians;" now his conscientious conduct of the *visita* thoroughly justified their good opinion of him. Although *encomenderos* and the *audiencia* were often virtually in league against Ramírez, he did manage to make two valuable alleviations of the tribute system before his death cut short the *visita:* items on the tribute list were reduced to much smaller number and fewer payments were demanded. This reducation was the basis of the later standardization in tribute practice.

Appendices containing translations of three documents on the *visita* enhance the value of this short study. (MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKEY)

*A Symposium on the Life and Work of Pope Pius X*. Prepared under the direction of the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. With a Preface by the Most Reverend Amleto G. Cicognani, D.D., Apostolic Delegate to the United States .(Washington: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. 1946. Pp. xiii, 304. $2.50. )

This is an extremely satisfactory collection of papers upon the life and pontificate of Pius X, prepared with a view to promoting the cause of his canonization. No aspect of his multiple activity has been neglected. Indeed, the effect produced by reading this book is to make one realize how many and far-reaching these activities were, in the sense that Pius X stands out from its pages as not only a saintly Pope but a great one as well. Almost any one of his achievements taken singly would have made his pontificate memorable; the combination of them all within the relatively short reign of eleven years leaves a record

of accomplishment paralleled by few Popes in the history of the Church. His reputation for sanctity, deserved though it is, tends to obscure the fact that he was, with all his humility and simplicity, a great ruler of the Church.

The achievements of his pontificate in almost every field of Church life make an imposing array: his condemnation of modernism and the clear understanding of the integrity of doctrine that prompted it, his contribution to biblical studies, his zeal for the systematic teaching of Christian doctrine, his encouragement of the lay apostolate of Catholic Action, the impetus he gave to the liturgical movement in its broadest and widest sense, his encouragement of frequent communion and the eucharistic formation of children, his sane and true reform of church music, his revision of the breviary and canon law, and his great solicitude for priestly holiness. Nor were these merely works which he inspired and encouraged; without exception they were expressions of his own rich experience of many years as parish priest, seminary rector, bishop, and patriarch. The work of Pius X is in a special way bound up with his life so that it is especially true with him that a full understanding of the one is impossible without a knowledge of the other.

All these works are discussed intelligently and thoroughly by men competent in each of these subjects. Of course, there is a complete biographical sketch and a study of the cause of Pius X. Perhaps greater detail could be expected in the discussion of his virtues and his miracles in a work that has for its purpose the promotion of his cause. The biographical study is marred by some strange mistakes in details, e.g., "Archbishop Nazario of Quebec" was presumably Louis Nazaire Cardinal Begin (p. 33) and Archbishop Bruchesi of Montreal was not a cardinal.

There are a complete bibliography and a fine picture of Pius X. The Confraternity should be congratulated on an informative and inspiring study of their great patron. (WILLIAM J. O'SHEA)

THOMPSON, D. G. BRINTON. *Ruggles of New York. A Life of Samuel B. Ruggles.* Introduction by Allan Nevins. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. 222. $2.75.)

Manhattanites are traditionally ignorant of the island's historical lore and landmarks. Professor Nevins of Columbia University is advising some of his students to remedy this situation by producing biographical studies of the significant citizens of the city's past. This all too short life of Ruggles is a felicitous result of such guidance.

Samuel Bulkley Ruggles might be labeled as one of "those earnest Victorians." His interests were many, and his fields of activity seemed to expand almost as rapidly as did nineteenth-century New York. How many purveyors of panaceas in Union Square are aware that this spot owes its first formal plan to this now forgotten man? He also gave some forty lots for the creation of Gramercy Park, for so long one of the more pleasant oases in the masonic desert of the metropolis. His more significant accomplishments, however, lay in still larger fields. Except for De Witt Clinton, his role in planning the future of the Erie Canal was unsurpassed in importance. The efficiency of this project was often menaced by

political short-sightedness in the 1840's, and it was Ruggles' carefully reasoned advocacy of the famous "ditch" that did much to win his fellow Whigs to support its expansion. Improvements of any nature invited his attention and careful study, and usually his support. We find that he was one of the builders of the Erie Railroad, although his association with it was terminated long before it became a "byword for financial trickery." Although his own financial condition was not always healthy, his clarity of mind caused him to be regarded as one of the nation's few experts in economic and financial statistics. We find that he was twice named a delegate to international statistical conferences. Indeed, he might have become much more famous had the recommendations of the International Monetary Conference of 1867 (which he helped to formulate) ever been adopted.

Columbia owes him a debt of everlasting gratitude for his part in raising it from a weak college to a great university. Together with John W. Burgess, he was responsible for the establishment of the now world famed Faculty of Political Science. This was but the crowning achievement of his long and fruitful years as a trustee of the institution.

A treatment of such a man hardly seems to need justification. One regrets, nevertheless, that limits of space and printing costs prevented the author from giving us a broader insight into Ruggles and his attitudes on still other important issues. Glimpses of his personal life are all too few and too scanty. The same is true regarding his cultural and political outlooks. For instance, a man so alive to all currents of his age must have had some thoughts on the impact of social Darwinism and its implications for the higher education in which he was so interested. The reviewer would also have liked further enlightenment on Ruggles' attitude toward nativism. Thompson is far too sketchy here. However, these shortcomings are minor ones when measured against the over-all quality of the book. The style is far better than we are accustomed to in such literature, and a sense of humor is welcome, even in a doctoral dissertation. The canons of research are in all cases adhered to. One hopes that the high standard it sets will be followed in subsequent volumes of like scope about other New Yorkers. (GEORGE L. A. REILLY)

THOMPSON, LAURA. *Guam and its People.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 367. $5.00.)

The study of Miss Thompson is concerned with the cultural, religious, economic, and political history of the inhabitants of the island of Guam. Discovered in 1521, this small Pacific island had been under Spanish rule for over three centuries when in 1898 it passed under United States control. In 1598 missionaries began to labor among the inhabitants and by the year 1700 all the inhabitants had become Catholics. In 1901 American Protestant missionaries began to labor on Guam and in 1945 had counted some 750 nominal members among the natives. The author is mainly concerned with secular culture, administration of law, economic system, and community services. The chapter on religion, pagan and Christian, covers no more than twenty-five pages. It is unfortunate that the author based her history of the Catholic missions of recent years exclusively

on the report of the American governor and the *Guam Recorder*. Thus her otherwise fair account is led to construe the anti-Catholic move of the American governor barring the German Capuchins from Guam into a threat of a schism in the Guam Church. The protests launched in the American Catholic press in 1909 and 1910 would have given her the true history of that supposed schism. High praise is given to Father José Palomo, the first native priest (d. 1919), who under Spanish, American, and Japanese rule had worked for peace and submission of his people. Catholicism, the author admits, has become deeply rooted in the people. Despite some prejudices she has produced a book which can be praised unreservedly. The appreciative chapter on the good traits of the islanders deserves particular commendation. (JOHN M. LENHART)

VASILIEV, ALEXANDER A. *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860.* [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No 46.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1946. Pp. xi, 245. $4.00.)

Heretofore, the Russian attack on Constantinople had had a jack-in-the-box aspect, a fleet of 200 vessels popping suddenly from the innocent-appearing north to startle the Byzantines. In masterly fashion, the present work dissipates this whole atmosphere of the bizarre. The Varangian adventure is proved to have been a close counterpart of the Norman forays in the west and to have constituted the eastern arm of the great wave that broke out of Scandinavia in the ninth century. The most telling demonstration of this thesis is Vasiliev's discovery that an independent viking expedition sailed through the Mediterranean and also raided the Hellespont from the south. Furthermore, we have at last a satisfactory explanation of how so young a principality as Kiev could have mounted an assault so formidable. Vasiliev shows that the new Russian state had been founded at least before 838 and had been built not upon barbarism but upon the highly organized but decadent Khazar Empire.

Important as is this result, it accounts for little more than half the book. The author scrutinizes minutely every problem connected with the Russian attack, the date, the duration, the principals both Greek and Varangian, the antecedents, and the aftermath. For each question, he makes a penetrating and balanced assessment of all available sources, western oriental, Greek and Slavic, and furnishes also a detailed review of scholars' opinions and conclusions, laying special emphasis on works in Russian. To single out a few of his discoveries, he brings fresh evidence to rehabilitate the reputation of Michael III, to establish the historicity of Askold and Dir, to show that the Russian invasion lasted at least ten months. But even in points where he does not produce anything new, he contributes a very real advance. He guides the reader through a maze of confusing and contradictory statements, points out the source and persistence of errors, and thus settles most of the hitherto controversial issues.

This fine work provides a complete and authoritative orientation on the sources and literature of the Norman activities in both East and West in the mid-ninth century. To the Byzantinist it is indispensable and it is invaluable to the mediaevalist. (MARTIN J. HIGGINS)

VERNADSKY, GEORGE (Trans.). *Medieval Russian Laws.* [Records of Civilization. Sources and studies, No. XLI]. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. 106. $2.00.)

Although the bulk of present-day books on Russia deal with the modern period, fortunately greater emphasis is being directed lately to mediaeval Russian history. The present work presents an introduction to and translation of four charters which are illustrative of Russian juridical and legislative life in the pre-Muscovite period. Although laws by themselves are oftentimes distorted mirrors of a people's culture, nevertheless they contain valuable evidence concerning social and economic life.

A study of early Russian laws inevitably leads to a comparison with Germanic tribal laws. Professor Vernadsky recognizes the similarity in the basic principles of the old Slavic common law and those of the Frankish and the Anglo-Saxon law as well as the similarity in the evolution of both. The question, therefore, follows whether the Teutonic law influenced the Russian or vice versa. Professor Vernadsky attributes the parallelisms rather to the similarity in the general conditions of life, in social organization, as well as in the tribal mentality at a given stage of the historical progress of each of the two ethnic groups, rather than to a conscious imitation on the part of either. Although this thesis is possible, nevertheless the similarities cannot be dismissed as mere parallels in development. About five centuries separate the Teutonic tribal laws from the charters here translated during which time there was contact and commercial intercourse between East and West, especially via Novgorod. This contact between commercial peoples was bound to spur imitation on the part of the Russians.

Noteworthy in the Russian laws is the attitude toward usury. Although condemned in the West, interest on loans was legalized both in the Byzantine and Russian jurisprudence. The explanation lies in the difference of economics, the land economy of the West versus the money economy of the East. Since loans at interest constituted an important corollary to commercial transactions, their existence was duly reflected in the Russian law.

Professor Vernadsky's translation of the charters will serve as a useful source for the study of mediaeval Russia. But whether it will contribute towards a correct understanding of present-day Russia and the Russians, as the editor of the series hopefully suggests, is dubious. (ANTHONY F. CZAJKOWSKI)

WARE, ETHEL K. *A Constitutional History of Georgia.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. 210. $2.75.)

This volume is among the more valuable of those works which have appeared in recent years on the subject of state constitutional history. It is comprehensive, well written, well documented and reveals extensive use of the sources on the subject as the basis for clearly formulated conclusions. The author traces the evolution of Georgia's eight constitutions framed between 1777-1945, noting in each instance the social, political, and economic considerations which necessitated constitutional revision.

In Georgia's first constitution in 1777 emphasis was placed upon the legis-

lative function "giving almost complete control to the legislature" (pp. 33, 35) and only very limited powers to the executive and judiciary. Legislative authority was reduced in the second constitution of 1798 by a more specific definition of legislative power. However, this was a reflection of the desire to avoid the exercise of judicial review rather than an effort to divest the legislature of authority.

Throughout the study Ware traces the development of the principle of judicial review in Georgia and the rise in power of the state courts. It is noted that judicial review "was assumed . . . but not overworked" (p. 98) as early as 1845, although the constitution was silent on the matter. Judicial review was first given constitutional recongition in 1861. Apparently this recognition made the state courts conscious of their power as compared with the other branches of government. There was an increased tendency for the Georgia supreme court to adopt a "tone of judicial independence" by invalidating a large number of laws on the contention that their enactment constituted an infringement upon judicial rights.

This study is in reality a biography of a state in an effort to keep its organic law abreast of the times, although this meant frequent constitutional amendment (301 between 1877 and 1945). It is interesting to note in the light of Georgia's experience in 1947 that an unforeseen emergency and ambiguous constitutional phraseology resulted in two governors of Georgia in 1778 (p. 152). (Bernard H. Nelson)

Whitaker, Arthur P. (Ed.). *Inter-American Affairs, 1945.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. 328. $3.75.)

In an age in which there is much consideration given to relations among the Americas this volume finds a ready place because of the wealth of material it contains concerning political, economic, social, and cultural developments on both continents. The year 1945 was an especially momentous one for Inter-American affairs. The death of President Roosevelt, who had been the foremost proponent of the Good Neighbor policy, removed a man who genuinely loved and admired South Americans. The two great conferences at Chapultepec and San Francisco did much to bring about a better understanding among the nations of the western hemisphere, but at the same time they showed up many weaknesses in their relations with each other. The old fear about the power of the United States was increased by the role that the Big Four took in the San Francisco Conference to the detriment of the smaller nations. With the cessation of hostilities and the removal of a common danger there was a noticeable tendency to relapse into the pre-war isolation and into tender and sensitive nationalism. In spite of the momentous happenings, little of permanent value was achieved to put the relations between the United States and South America on a firmer basis of mutual understanding.

The work presents a mass of material in lucid style and is particularly valuable for the chronology of important events and the statistical tables it contains. The latter are not as complete as the editor and future students should want them because of the slowness of governments to compile and release war-time data. However, as a fund of material of easy reference—due to a good

index coupled with an excellent bibliography—it is invaluable to any student of Inter-American affairs. (RICHARD S. MCMONIGAL)

WILKIN, ROBERT N. *Eternal Lawyer. A Legal Biography of Cicero.* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947. Pp. xvi, 264. $3.00.)

Judge Wilkin's study of Cicero is concerned with the career of one who was a lawyer before the rise of a legal profession at Rome. As a federal judge of the United States, the author is well equipped by both training and experience to interpret Cicero from the lawyer's standpoint. He is also anxious to counteract Mr. Haskell's recent portrayal of Cicero as pre-eminently a politician. Judge Wilkin is convinced that justice was not the dominant aim throughout Cicero's entire career as citizen, statesman, orator, and philosopher. Cicero unquestionably gave expression to the fundamental principles of Roman law which, after being so authoritative during the Middle Ages, now obviously need to be reasserted. In a corrupt and moribund state, however, it was far easier to enunciate lofty principles than to practise them. Although readers of Haskell's *This was Cicero* (New York, 1942) and of Judge Wilkin will certainly differ with regard to the similarity between conditions in Cicero's Rome and in the present-day United States, the validity of the political and legal principles set forth in Cicero's writings remains. To prove, however, that his own life was constantly motivated by these principles is a difficult task.

A professed supporter of the constitution, Cicero nullified it in condemning without trial the Roman citizens implicated in the conspiracy of Catiline. The champion of the "higher law," he invoked this very concept in attempting to justify the unlawful actions of Cassius. When he supported the Manilian Law he was guilty of gross flattery and of undue concern for the loss of revenue. It was expediency that prompted him to uphold a law which patently obstructed the authority of the senate and tended toward the establishment of a dictatorship. Vanity and personal ambition frequently caused him to violate his own injunction to despise outside things and mere temporary conditions; and his boast that he had won questionable lawsuits by his ingenuity and oratory makes it apparent that his conceptions of justice and of equality before the law were largely theoretical. Moreover, it is quite uncertain to what extent Cicero's eclectic philosophical teachings are to be regarded as representing his own profound convictions.

Judge Wilkin relates the main events of Cicero's life effectively and with economy. More valuable, however, is the excellent summary of Cicero's philosophy of life, government, and law. At a time when the word "democracy" is so constantly misused, when statesmen are making a fetish of a particular form of government, and when the very existence of natural law is denied this epitome of Cicero's teaching is both timely and valuable. The author's attempt to identify Cicero's legal philosophy with that of Mr. Justice Holmes does not seem to be substantiated, and Ferrero's estimate of Cicero as the "scholar in politics" seems far more tenable than this latest interpretation. Still Judge Wilkin has given us an interesting and carefully considered study, which merits the attention not only of lawyers and classicists, but also of historians and of all thoughtful readers. (LLOYD B. HOLSAPPLE)

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

### MISCELLANEOUS

The War of the Twentieth Century. Tibor Eckhardt (*Thought*, Sept.).

Liberal Idealism and Absolute Despotism. Eugene Bagger (*ibid.*).

Vitoria and International Law. J. L. Brierly (*Dublin Rev.*, No. 440, Spring).

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El concepto pagano de la victoria legitima. Alvaro d'Ors (*Boletim da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXII, Fasc. 2).

La evolucion de la enseñanza del derecho canónico en España. Paulino Pedret Casado (*ibid.*).

The Scriptural Doctrine on First Creation. (*cont.*) Michael J. Gruenthaner (*Cath. Bibilical Quart.*, July).

La Chiesa e le versioni della S. Scrittura in lingua volgare. G. Duncker (*Angelicum*, Vol. XXIV, Fasc. 2-3).

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Le siège de Jérusalem par Pompée. F. M. Abel (*Revue Biblique*, Apr.).

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La théologie de la Trinité chez Clément d'Alexandrie. Jules Lebreton (*Recherches de science religieuse*, Apr.).

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Martin Bucer's Letter to John à Lasco on the Eucharist. C. Hopf (*ibid.*).

Irenaeus: Mostly Prolegomena. Morton S. Enslin (*Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, Vol. XL, No. 3).

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Marco Polo. Quel est le texte authentique de sa relation? L. Dieu (*ibid.*).

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EUROPEAN

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